

ADDRESS FORMS IN XITSONGA: A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that **ADDRESS FORMS IN XITSONGA: A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature
(SJ Kubayi)

Date

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the nature of socio-cultural rules underlying address behaviour in face-to-face interactions in Xitsonga. In the study, a socio-pragmatic approach is used. This approach is a combination of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Data are collected using semi-structured interviews from 29 participants in Hlanganani region. Hlanganani is a Xitsonga speech community located in Limpopo Province, South Africa. The participants were selected in terms of five variables, namely their age, gender, marital status, educational status and occupation. Five theories are tested in this study, namely Brown and Gilman's (1968) theory of power and solidarity, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, the theory of accommodation, the theory of universal grammar and the Gricean theory of conversation. The study finds that Hlanganani is an age-set society in that the age of a person is the primary determiner of address choice. The male gene also receives superior status in address behaviour in Xitsonga. It is also found that women are given the same lower status as children. It is observed that women's statuses reflect their graduation in terms of marriage and the production of children. It is recommended that more studies of a similar kind should be undertaken based on either different speech communities or on a comparative basis of particularly African languages. Such studies will go a long way in describing similarities and differences in both the linguistic and the social structures of different cultures.

KEYWORDS

Address forms; power and solidarity; accommodation; implicatures; politeness; positive and negative face; address inversion; address avoidance; socio-pragmatics; socio-cultural rules; names, titles and teknonyms; kinship terms; the pronominal and honorific systems; terms of reference.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

There seems to be little research, of how Xitsonga speakers use their language as forms of address, and how they deal with, *inter alia*, issues of interpersonal relations and socio-cultural communication. This study, therefore, seeks to identify, explore and describe the problem of how the speakers of Xitsonga use three main kinds of address forms in dyadic encounters: names, titles and teknonyms; the kinship system; and the pronominal and honorific systems. It is assumed that there are both similarities and dissimilarities in factors influencing address design across languages. It has been found, for example, that the use of the familiar pronoun and the deferential pronoun in European languages is governed by the two forces of power and solidarity (Yang, 2007; Brown and Gilman, 1968).

The exploration of the address system in Xitsonga is an attempt at understanding the socio-cultural rules, values, norms, expectations and practices underlying Xitsonga culture, and of how these linguistic forms are used to foster human interactions at interpersonal levels (Afful, 2007; Mashiri, 1999). Not surprisingly, Qin (2008:409) holds that terms of address “open communicative acts and set the tone for the interchanges that follow” because they reflect interpersonal relationships that embody rules of politeness and the underlying cultural ideology. Thus, one of the broad goals of this study is to explore the social, cultural, economic, political and linguistic dynamics associated with address forms in Xitsonga. Holmes (1992:247) writes that “[language varies according to its uses as well as its users, according to where it is used and to whom, as well as according to who is using it”. The choice of the address system may be affected by, among others, the interpersonal relationships between the participants and the socio-cultural context in the dyads.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection locates the study within five broad theoretical frameworks. It is also useful to note that address usage is a rule-governed behaviour (Parkinson, 1985) without whose knowledge and its subsequent proper application speakers are unlikely to achieve overall success of communication (Dickey, 1997). In the light of this realisation, the second subsection is a discussion of factors influencing the address system.

1.2.1 Theoretical frameworks of the study

This study is located within a number of theoretical frameworks. These are Brown and Gilman's (1968) theory of power and solidarity, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, the theory of accommodation (Bell, 1984), the theory of universal grammar (Chomsky, 1965; Lehman, 1973) and the Gricean theory of conversation (Grice, 1975). When two or more different theoretical frameworks are used to examine the same question or research problem, a case of theoretical triangulation can be noted (Liamputtong, 2009). An interpretivist research such as the present study "cannot be reduced to the take-up of a single theoretical perspective,... but we can expect interpretivists to consider the subjective nature of the world, to treat meaning as socially constructed and to have a special concern with the unique character of human activity and of the agency which creates social action," (Hammond and Wellington, 2013:90). According to Wolhuter (2010), the human being as the subject of research in social sciences possesses an own volition or free will, and thus there are no absolute or universally valid laws in interpretive studies. From this perspective, phenomena can only be understood or interpreted rather than explained through rigid conceptualisations or formulaic strategies.

(a) Brown and Gilman's theory of power and solidarity

Brown and Gilman (1968) investigated the second-person pronoun usage in German, French and Spanish, and discovered that the use of the pronoun is determined by semantics, which they located in power and solidarity contexts. German, French and Spanish have different second person pronoun forms chosen by a speaker in terms of whether he or she wants to

address someone more informally or politely (Richards et al., 1985). These respective pronouns are *du-Sie*, *tu-vous* and *tu-ustred*. Following French's *tu-vous*, this pronominal distinction was subsequently known by the all-embracing term, T/V distinction, originally T and V from Latin *tu* and *vou*, respectively (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

In Brown and Gilman's observation, *tu* (you) is used to both intimates and to inferiors or familiar addressees. This form of pronoun is, therefore, known as the solidarity semantic. The other form *vous* (you) is used to address both non-intimates and superiors (Dickey, 2002), and is, therefore, referred to as the power semantic. It is the speaker's communicative competence that allows speakers to choose an appropriate address form in dyadic encounters (Richards et al., 1985). As the following discussion points out, in Xitsonga the solidarity semantic can be identified as the singular pronoun *wena* (you), and the power semantic is represented by the plural pronominal form *n'wina* (you). Stated differently, the plural and the power semantic take the same form. In other words, the power semantic is expressed by the plural pronominal form. But when used as a power semantic, the pronoun does not express the plurality of the addressees.

The solidarity semantic

The use of address forms to express solidarity or equality allows speakers to address each other with the same type of address (O'Grady et al., 1996). The reciprocal use of address forms indicates a symmetrical relationship between the speakers in the encounter. Solidarity or reciprocity occurs in instances where the interlocutors may share common ground, common experiences, and where there may be intimate relationships between them (Brown and Gilman, 1960/1972 in Mashiri, 1999). The solidarity semantic is evoked in situations where people may be of the same profession or any other relationship where power is not a defining feature. Reciprocity may thus occur among doctors, parents and teachers or among patients, children and students.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) hold the view that the use of reciprocal first names (FNs) in English, for example, indicates familiarity or solidarity. The singular pronoun form *wena* (you) in Xitsonga may be used to express familiarity, solidarity or reciprocity between individuals of equal status. Similarly, when participants in an encounter address each other by their first names such as *Vusiwana*, *Khazamula* and so on, a case of solidarity may be

observed. Colleagues in the same positions may choose to address one another by their first names, i.e as equals even when they are of different ages and have different titles (professor, doctor). A mistress – older or younger - may request her domestic servant to address her by her first name, thereby implicitly sending her a message that despite their age or economic differences, they are equals.

The power semantic

Differences of power between individuals in face-to-face interactions are likely to determine the choice of address forms. Brown and Gilman (1968:254) observe that “Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and that it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behaviour”. In other words, it is impossible for two people to have power over one another in the same domain at the same time. The more powerful of the two people receives V for formality or respect and gives the less powerful person T. Power typically is manifested between parents over their children, employers over their employees and the old over the young. Thus, forms of address are sensitive indicators of how speakers position their addressees in terms of the scales of familiarity/unfamiliarity. In Shona, for instance, the power semantic is expressed by the second person honorific pronoun *imi* (you) (Mashiri, 1999).

The power dynamic can also be seen as a non-reciprocal use of address terms (O’Grady et al., 1996). In terms of the power semantic, speakers address each other with a differential type of address, signalling asymmetrical social relationship between the parties. Typical relationships of non-reciprocity are doctor-patient, parent-child or teacher-student relationship. In such relationships, difference in power and status between the participants is assumed. The doctor, parent and teacher wield more power than the patient, child and student, respectively.

In Xitsonga, the second person plural pronoun *n’wina* (you) may be proposed as the power pronoun. This pronominal linguistic item may be used to address a more powerful individual. The patient, child or student may use the pronoun to address the doctor, parent and teacher in their respective dyadic encounters. The use of this pronominal form to address a less powerful person is non-reciprocal. The doctor, parent and teacher may decide to address their patient, child and student, respectively by the less powerful singular second person pronoun *wena* (you) (SW).

The concept of the pronoun of power and of reciprocity is applied not only to terms of address and reference, but also to kinship terms (KTs) (Hwang, 1991). In this regard, differences of power are likely to determine the choice not only of the second person pronouns but also of kinship terms, titles and names. Thus, more than anything else, knowledge of address forms is part of the speaker's communicative competence.

In Xitsonga, a female employer may address her maid by her name *Nkhesani* but the employee may not reciprocate, thereby addressing her boss by her name *Hlawulani*. Instead, *Nkhesani* may address *Hlawulani* by her title and last name *Manana Makhubele* (Mrs Makhubele). Title forms such as *Manana* (Mrs) and social titles such as *Dok.* (Dr) assign a high position to the addressee because such title forms express the addresser's respect for him or her (the addressee). They express social distance and the absence of solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. They indicate that *Manana Makhubele* is more powerful than *Nkhesani*, and that *Dok. X* has more power than his patient *Y*. The application of an address form non-reciprocally is also an expression of deference from the social subordinate to the superior. But when used by the superior, such choice expresses power, condescension or lack of respect for the subordinate (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

The power-solidarity distinction raises very important issues of sociolinguistic competence between speakers in face-to-face interactions. Specifically, the study of the choice between the two forms is an investigation of pronominal usages in terms of how the address system structures reality on the dimensions of power and solidarity (Liong, 1990).

In line with Brown and Gilman's research of pronominal address usage, Dickey (2002) holds that the distinction in English between first name and first name plus last name (FLN) "functioned in the same way as the distinction between T pronouns and V pronouns in European languages". Within this framework, although English has one second-person pronoun, it can still have a T/V distinction in nominal address forms; the use of FN is equivalent to T, and the choice of FLN to V. The use of FN during address is akin to the choice of the T pronoun; usage of FLN is likened to the exploitation of the V pronoun. A link between the T/V distinction and reciprocity can be observed as follows:

Closely connected to the idea of T and V is that of reciprocity or symmetry. Reciprocal address is a situation in which both speakers in a dyad use the same addresses or the same type of address to one another (Ibid, 1997:17).

Reciprocity in address usage occurs when speaker A uses the familiar pronoun *wena* (you) and speaker B uses *wena*, or if A uses the TLN *Manana Mabunda* and B uses TLN *Tatana Makhubele*, or if A uses FN *Nkhesani* and B uses FN *Khazamula*. But if A uses the familiar pronoun *wena* (you) and B uses the deferential *n'wina* (you), or if A uses TLN *Manana Mabunda* and B uses *Khazamula*, or if A uses Conny and B uses *papa* (dad), non-reciprocity in address choice may be assumed. Seen from this perspective, reciprocity entails equality between the participants, while non-reciprocity pinpoints relationships of inequality. The T/V-reciprocity dynamic can be summarised in the following way (Op.cit., 1997:17):

In a non-reciprocal situation at least one speaker does not have the option of using the type of address that the other uses. If a T pronoun is used reciprocally, it may indicate intimacy, but if it is used non-reciprocally, it usually shows the addressee's inferiority. Reciprocity is thus an important concept to keep in mind, for the meaning of a term of address in a given context can depend on the way that the recipient of that term addresses the speaker.

In conclusion, it would emerge that the choice of titles, names and pronouns in addresses does not happen by chance or choice of linguistic items. In fact, their usage indicates well-defined subsystems of language that reveal inequalities of power or solidarity between individuals and institutions that they may represent (Richards et al, 1985). Non-reciprocity can be associated with the reality of power and reciprocity with solidarity, between speakers and addressees.

(b) Politeness theory

Politeness can be described as “getting the linguistic expression of social distance right as far as your addressee is concerned,” (Holmes, 1992:300). In this sense, politeness calls on the addresser to make proper address usage taking into account the relationship between

themselves and the addressee and socio-cultural factors, among others, in the dyadic encounter. Koike (1992:21) argues that politeness is “based on the idea of ‘face’, public image or self-image”, which, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), every member of society wants to claim for themselves (Saeed, 2009). Face is “a fundamental concept in the description of social interaction,” (Thaler, 2012:907). The speaker is constantly aware of this self-image that they want to claim and that of the addressee in verbal interactions.

Politeness can also be defined as “consideration for others and the adherence to conventional standards expected of a well-bred person,” (Lakoff and Ide, 2005:4). This view sees politeness as a two-fold phenomenon, namely positive and negative face (Holmes, 1992; Finegan, 2004). The basis for the distinction between the two forms of politeness is provided by the dimensions of social distance or solidarity, and relative power and status of individuals in the dyad. In the subsections that follow, attention is paid to the two types of politeness.

Positive face

Positive politeness can be defined as “communicating to the listeners that the speaker’s wants are in some ways similar to those of the listener,” (Koike, 1992:21). This form of politeness is used by the addresser in an attempt to gratify the addressee in one way or the other (Dickey, 1997). The speaker can use several strategies of communicating positive politeness (Koike, 1992). The addresser can show interest or approval of the addressee’s wants. He or she can claim common opinions or attitudes. Alternatively, the speaker can give reasons for the form of the address that he has chosen.

These strategies give substance to Holmes’ (1992:297) postulation that positive politeness “emphasises shared attitudes and values”. It represents an individual’s desire to seem worthy and deserving of approval (Saeed, 2009). It entails projecting a self that is affiliated and connected with others, and that is identified with part of ‘we’. The needs of the individual’s positive face include the need for approval from others, the need for a sense of being liked by others and of being connected to others. These needs are addressed through, amongst others, showing empathy to others, including them in the your ‘in-group’. Address forms can thus be used as in-group identity markers of positive politeness, and as a reminder to the addressee that he has a connection to him (Dickey, 1997).

Another way of expressing positive politeness is showing involvement (Finegan, 2004). This can be achieved by letting people know that you enjoy their company, you feel comfortable with them, you like something in their personality, or you are interested in their well-being. Thus, positive politeness is the right to be involved with others and to make friends with them. The use of address forms are some of the ways of indicating our wishes for involvement and sociability in dyadic encounters. When a person addresses a university professor by his title ‘professor’ and the latter insists that he be addressed by his FN, then a request for involvement is expressed.

Another example of a positive face move is when a boss tells a subordinate to address him by his first name (for instance, *Khazamula*) rather than by his title and last name (for example, *Profesa Mabasa*). Such a move expresses solidarity and minimises status differences, hence the contention that positive face is solidarity-oriented (Holmes, 1992). Positive face can also be exemplified by a shift in a young man from the use of the kinship term plus FN *Malume Risimati* (uncle Risimati) to FN *Risimati* when addressing his uncle (mother’s brother). Familiar Xitsonga terms of address such as *murhandziwa* (love) and *xiheyiheyi xa mina* (my sweetie) are some of the speech moves that can serve as further examples of positive politeness. It is, therefore, apparent that speakers’ choice of familiar address forms may in part, be motivated by positive politeness, that is, the addresser’s interests to promote a positive face.

Negative face

Koike (1992:21) describes negative politeness as “consideration of the listener’s wish to be unimpeded in taking action and having attention”. Holmes (1992), on the other hand, holds that the goal of negative politeness is to pay people respect and to avoid intruding on them. This type of politeness strategy is primarily employed to social superiors, and consists of efforts to avoid hindering the addressee in any way or annoying him by undue familiarity (Dickey, 1997). It involves the need for a person to express oneself appropriately in terms of social distance and respecting status differences. An individual’s negative face implies projecting a self that is a separate individual with his/her distinctive individuality (Saeed, 2009).

Finegan (2004) writes that negative face as an aspect of politeness rests on the assumption that human beings respect one another’s privacy, independence and physical space. In other

words, people *avoid* intruding on others' lives, trying *not* to be overly inquisitive about their activities, while at the same time taking care *not* to impose their presence on them (Ibid., 2004). That is, people show negative politeness by respecting others' independence without intruding on their lives. This form of politeness requires people to leave others alone (Op.cit., 2004). It inscribed the right to be independent. Through forms of address, interlocutors can send each other messages, implicitly or explicitly, about their need for independence and the right to freedom from intrusion.

Some of the ways of observing negative politeness, that is, showing respect or deference to others, include the use of relatively formal modes of address and reference such as *papa* (father) or *mhani* (mother) when children address their parents, or *n'wananga* (my child) when parents address children (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Still, negative politeness can be articulated through the use of title and last name (TLN) such as *Tatana Makhubele* (Mr Makhubele) to a person's superiors, and to older people that you do not know well enough (Holmes, 1992). Addressing teachers by TLN is a perfect example of respecting their independence.

Further, it could be contended that negative politeness may involve the formality of the situation in which the interlocutors are situated. The dimension of formality requires the consideration of participants' roles in the context of the choice of a form of negative face (Ibid., 1992). In some Xitsonga communities, it may be inappropriate to address a married man by his first name in front of his wife or children, while this form of address may be acceptable while having food with friends. Negative politeness, therefore, slopes in the direction of relative power or status of individuals. Seen from this angle, politeness (*nhlonipho*) or *inhlonipho* in isiZulu (de Kadt, 1998) lies in what speakers use forms to do; an emphasis on the speakers' intentions in using specific forms. An individual may use different forms of address to the same addressee or the same address forms to different addressees to express the same intention.

The distinction between positive and negative politeness illustrates important dynamics of sociolinguistic competence in dyadic encounters. Sociolinguistic competence is the knowledge which underlies people's ability to use language appropriately (Holmes, 1992). From this standpoint, it becomes apparent that communicative competence enables speakers to express social expectations and to present a self that the address system signifies.

It is important to recognise that the rules of speaking or not speaking in certain situations are embedded in address forms (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). This is eloquently expressed by the choice or avoidance of a specific form of address. The same kind of address may be positively polite in one context; it may not be in another. Following these rules can be an important part of establishing an individual's right to respect, indicating one's knowledge of social norms. Conversely, their flouting can be a way of showing that one is not socially controlled by the promoters of those rules. Holmes (1992:293) summarises the gist that runs through the theory of politeness in the following way:

Making decisions about what is or is not considered polite in any community, therefore involves assessing social relationships along the dimensions of social distance or solidarity, and relatively power or status. We need to understand the social values of a society in order to speak politely.

It would appear that the notion of face is universal. Every language community is expected to have a system of politeness. The details of such a system will, however, vary because face is related to the most fundamental cultural ideas about the nature of the social persona (Saeed, 2009). So will the politeness strategies and individual address forms across cultures. Specifically, address forms in Xitsonga may be discussed under very divergent social contexts from their European ones. This position is echoed by Hudson (2000), who explores the concept of politeness morphology by professing that every occasion of speech or speech situation determines a different register, and, therefore, variation in address forms.

Differences in register that are brought about by non-linguistic factors, among other factors, are based on three interdependent factors. These are the S- or F-factors (Ibid., 2000:473) and are identified as follows:

- (1) *Speakers*, especially their relationship or *familiarity* with one another,
- (2) *Setting*, or the relative *formality* of the occasion, and the
- (3) *Subject* of discourse, or the *functions*, or purposes, of speaking.

Speakers address one another according to their levels of familiarity, including the amount of information and experiences that they share, the formality of the occasion, and functions of the speech situation (Op.cit., 2000). Speakers acknowledge politeness, that is, familiarity, formality and functions through the choice of forms of address. The choice of *Presidente Zuma* (President Zuma) instead of *Tatana Zuma* (Mr Zuma), for instance, communicates the

speaker's acknowledgement of a social circumstance, including his place in it, in terms of these levels. Thus, rather than based on arbitrary grounds, the choice of a form of address is informed and motivated by elements outside the linguistic system but inside the dyad. It may be informed by any of the S- or F-factors or a combination of all of them.

Again, the notion of politeness morphology demands grammatical competence from the speaker in the choice of the linguistic system in the form of grammatical morphemes. Grammatical competence refers to knowledge of the grammar, including the lexicon, phonological, morphological, and syntactic rules of the language (Richards et al., 1985; Cook and Newson, 1996; Hudson, 2000). In illustration, in the choice of the asymmetrical *wena* or the symmetrical *n'wina*, the addresser is required to use the correct agreement morphemes *u*, and *mi* respectively. It suffices to exemplify this:

Wena buti u na malembe mangani?

You brother **AGR-SING.** have years how-many?

You my brother, how old are you?

N'wina buti mi na malembe mangani?

You brother **AGR-PL.** have years how-many?

You my brother, how old are you?

It is suggested that politeness does not lie simply in forms as such, but rather, on what speakers use those forms to do (Eckert and McConnell, 2003). The emphasis is thus not on forms themselves, but on the speakers' intentions in using them. Not surprisingly, an individual may use different forms of address to the same addressee or the same address forms to different addressees to express the same intention.

It is hypothesized that it may not always be easy to classify address forms as promoting positive or negative politeness, or neither. While politeness may or may not require attention to the other's face needs, *considerateness*, argues Ibid. (2003), requires attention to this. The same kind of address may be positively polite in one context, but it may not be in another. As a consequence, it is important to understand how address modes are identified, the circumstances in which they are produced as well as the forms that they take, whilst simultaneously taking into account the speaker's intentions behind the choice of the form. In this respect the following contention is made:

Essentially the same kind of act can be performed very differently in different situations or by different people. And, like other features of conversational practice, politeness cannot be understood by looking just at isolated individual moves or speech acts (Op. cit., 2003).

Inherent in this type of thinking is the understanding that address forms cannot be understood in a vacuum nor can they be generalised in every situation. Every form of address needs to be examined in its socio-cultural context, historical or current, taking into account the interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors, the formality, or informality of the occasion, and the functions, or purpose of speaking. Therefore, the choice requires sociolinguistic competence on the part of the addressee “in the expression of social expectations and presentation of self which this choice signifies,” (Hudson, 2000:474).

The sociolinguistic-grammatical competence interface points out that politeness “involves not just understanding the language, but also the social and cultural values of the community,” (Holmes, 1992:296). The choice of address forms cannot, therefore, only be located within the linguistic system, but also in the society in which language exists. But societies consist of individuals who use language to communicate broader social, cultural, economic, political and other realities and considerations. It is, therefore, these issues that ultimately underlie the choice of the linguistic system through address forms.

Furthermore, the theory of politeness attempts to shed light on the general principles of politeness and how it can differ cross-culturally (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Saeed, 2009). Politeness varies cross-culturally because it involves taking into account the feelings of others and “speaking to [them] appropriately in the light of their relationship to you,” (Holmes, 1992:296). It, therefore, sounds reasonable to suggest that every society has its own rules of social behaviour that inform address behaviour. In order to speak politely, it is important to understand the social values of that particular society. The concept of politeness demonstrates knowledge of sociocultural rules, linguistic norms and their functions in that society (Koike, 1992).

In terms of sociocultural values and norms of Xitsonga communities, for instance, there seems to be a tendency of addressing stranger women as *sesi* (sister) or *mhani/mhake* (mother), depending on their ages or marital status. By the same logic, stranger men are

addressed as *buti* (brother), *malume* (uncle) or *papa* (father). In addition, it is claimed that politeness is not particular to certain societies, as follows (Ibid., 1992:20):

Politeness is a universal phenomenon that occurs in specific social contexts. It is often expressed in grammatical structures via pragmatic conventions recognized by a particular society as carrying a certain intended illocutionary force ..., but it may also be communicated in a series of utterances from which one infers politeness

Two rules of interactional competence that demonstrate knowledge of social behaviour, namely be clear and be polite are proposed. Being polite involves three principles: do not impose, give options and make the listener feel good – be friendly (Op. cit., 1992). It is argued that these three principles may necessitate a violation of the rule of ‘being clear’ because being polite does not necessarily require expressing oneself efficiently and clearly. Further, the three principles are seen as a reflection of the speaker’s attitudes towards the social context of the form of address. This includes the addresser’s relationship with, and sensitivity towards the addressee, the importance of the information to be conveyed, the formality of the address form, and the effect that the speaker wishes to achieve through the type of address used.

During interactions, the speaker relies on a number of strategies to vary his communication according to a perception of the need to protect both his and the addressee’s face. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:134) make the following observation:

The more closely connected we are and the more like one another we see ourselves as, the harder it may become to protect our own and others’ needs for separateness and independence of action. The more respect we receive, the more recognition of our autonomy, the more difficult it may be to forge intimate bonds linking us to similar others.

People have a need to promote their own face interests as well as those of others. However, the need to protect the ‘face’ of both parties in the interactions results in the ever-increasing tensions between the positive and the negative face. But by engaging in the rules of politeness, interlocutors are able to avoid these tensions and conflicts, and, according to Lakoff and Ide (2005), to demonstrate to each other the following:

- (1) That they are members of the same group, a *we*, who are connected by their acknowledgement of the same system;
- (2) That they are both *good* (virtuous and proper) members of that group: they are both “well-bred”.

Thus, the individual is expected not only to know the rules of social behaviour, but also follow them and simultaneously demonstrate that he/she is a well-bred member of the same culture with the addressee by signifying social behaviour that avoids confrontation and conflict. Viewed from this perspective, politeness is a strategy to ensure peace and cohabitation between individuals in dyadic situations, and between individuals in social, cultural, economic and political groupings. Once more, it is clear that the address system can be located beyond the native universe into the broader socio-cultural, politico-economic and philosophical frameworks.

(c) Accommodation theory

In examining the phenomenon of address behaviour, it is particularly useful to locate it within the theory of accommodation. Speech accommodation occurs “when a person changes their way of speaking to make it sound more or less like the speech of the person they are talking to,” (Richards et al., 1985:1). “The common form of accommodation is *convergence*” (Bell, 1984) whereby a person’s speech or form of address in a face-to-face encounter converges towards the speech of the person they are talking to (Holmes, 1992), or when speakers bring their speech patterns close to those of the addressees (Dickey, 1997). Instead of convergence, speakers may maintain their speech styles or even diverge from their addressees (Bell, 1984). Convergence can take place at the level of speech rate, accent, content, and pausing (Ibid., 1984). The outcome of convergence is similarities in the speech of the interlocutors.

Accommodation accounts for the ways in which people alter their speech patterns to fit their addressees and audience. In other words, it is the ways in which speech patterns move towards or away from one’s interlocutors (Platt and Weber, 1984). This model can be used to explain the results of the study of the relationship between forms of address and terms of reference (Dickey, 1997).

As a polite speech strategy, accommodation has a tendency of occurring under two conditions (Holmes, 1992). The first condition is when the speakers in the interaction like one another;

the second is where one of the speakers has a vested interest in pleasing the other or putting him at ease in order to win his approval (Bell, 1984). Implicit in the strategy of politeness is the understanding that the speaker accepts and is willing to imitate the addressee's speech. People may converge in a number of areas, including their pronunciation, vocabulary, formulas, verbal fillers or pragmatic particles, grammatical patterns, and more importantly, their address forms (Homes, 1992). In this way, speakers signal to their addressees that they are on the same wavelength.

Two types of convergence can be identified. When a more powerful person (e.g. an employer) uses the familiar form of address (e.g. the familiar *wena* (you)) when talking to a less powerful person (e.g. an employee), he is "converging downwards towards the lesser linguistic proficiency of his addressee," (Ibid., 1992:255). Thus, downwards convergence refers to convergence towards the address form of someone with less power or status. The person with less power and status stands to benefit from the latter's imitation of his form of address. Upwards convergence is involved when a less powerful individual adopts some of the habitual address forms of the more powerful speaker. This type of convergence is oriented towards someone with more power and status, and who deserves respect in that particular context.

Dickey (1997), however, argues that while most examples of adults who alter their language for such addressees as children make their language simpler and more casual than the language used to other adult speakers, in the use of proper names, the reverse is true. For instance, a woman may exhort her daughter to be polite to 'Mrs Smith' but the same woman may refer to Mrs Smith as 'Jane' in front of her husband.

Furthermore, the concept of accommodation implies the principle that "each person has a standard usage [of address forms] of his or her own and departs from that usage under certain circumstances," (Ibid., 1997:271). This, of course, raises the question of whether there really exists such a thing as uniformity in 'standard' language, in particular, in the use of the address system. It also assumes that language is virtually always directed at an addressee, and that the identity of the addressee always has some major effect in the choice of linguistic items.

The theory of accommodation explains that the greater the speaker's need to gain another's social approval, the greater the degree of convergence there is. In the academic setting of Dickey's research, for instance, students in conversation with teachers would sometimes find

themselves echoing the teachers' first name (FN) references to colleagues whom the students addressed with title and last name (TLN). The factor of convergence also explains why students who addressed the same teacher in different ways were more likely to converge towards the more informal means of reference when discussing that teacher among themselves.

Yet another implication is that in studying the address systems of different languages, it is crucially important to keep the potential differences between address and referential usage in mind. This thinking is informed by the realisation that the address meaning of a word cannot be assumed to be the same as its referential meaning. Thus, the fact that person A refers to B by a certain word does not necessarily mean that he or she will use that word in addressing B. By the same token, if A addresses B in a certain way, we cannot assume that A will also refer to B in that way (Op.cit., 1997). Simply stated, John may converge upwards and address Mary as *Manana Makhubele* (Mrs Makhubele) in front of her husband, but converges downwards by referring to her by her FN Mary when they are alone.

In conclusion, it has been seen that the need to accommodate others requires that address forms are, to a large extent, once again, influenced by a plurality of factors, including issues of familiarity, the presence or absence of others, the location of the interactions, the functions of speech, the relationships of the speakers and the formality of the occasion. Still, the theory of accommodation pinpoints real life issues as instigators of the choice of the linguistic system. This emphasises the fact that linguistic behaviour is inconceivable outside the society of which it is a part. Beyond the need to accommodate the next person, the address system is governed by rules of social behaviour.

(d) Address forms and universal grammar

In order to make meaningful discoveries about language, linguists must distinguish between what is important and what is unimportant about language and linguistic behaviour. Wardhaugh (1992:2) writes:

The important matters, sometimes referred to as *language universals*, concern the learnability of all languages, the characteristics they share, and the rules and principles that speakers apparently follow in constructing and interpreting sentences; the less important matters have to do with how individual speakers use specific utterances in a variety of ways as they find themselves in this situation or that.

The focus of linguistic enquiry should be language universals, i.e. principles or rules governing the structures of languages. This study of the address system in Xitsonga is partly an attempt to uncover the rules underpinning address usage. It assumes that the choice of a form of address is not random; but rather that it follows not only specific rules, but also broad rules that cut across all linguistic systems.

Specifically, due to its importance in the organisation of a society, the kinship system is viewed as a universal feature of languages. Apart from the role of kinship systems in the social organisation of societies, all systems make use of relational factors of sex, age, generation, blood, and marriage in their organisation. Thirdly, kinship terms are employed to account for instances of terms which are by themselves kinship terms but are used with people who are not kin. For instance, the use of the words *papa* (father) and *mhani/mhake* (mother) to address the respective stranger men and women that speakers come across in their daily interactions account for such kinship patterns.

Hwang (1991) expresses the view that the conflicting but overlapping force coming from power/status and solidarity/intimacy is largely universal, whether it relates to the choice of pronouns and the choice of nonpronominal phrases such as first names, titles and greetings. The existence of multiple pronouns in languages, titles and meaning-bearing names from which speakers make their choices supports this argument.

Further, O'Grady et al. (1996) note that the phenomenon of address terms, as well as specific rules that determine their appropriate use, has been observed in a number of languages. It is clear, for example, that every time one calls a person or refers to him by name, the caller indicates something of that person's social relationship to or personal feeling about that individual. A person may be on a first-name terms with a friend, on a kinship terms with a mother, and on a second person terms with an uncle. An employer might be addressed as Mrs Kate but she might address an employee by using the latter's first name. Such addresses indicate the universal existence of the address system and its subsequent rules of application.

Holmes (1992:303) identifies social status, social distance or solidarity and the degree of formality of the interaction as “relevant dimensions in all societies in determining ways of speaking politely”. These dimensions are, therefore, seen as universal across cultures. So is the phenomenon of politeness, which, as it were, can find its expression through address theory. Further evidence of the universal nature of address forms is provided by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), who posit that many languages incorporate into their grammars, resources for showing respect to or marking solidarity with speakers’ addressees. It is apparent that the system of address design is one such resource. Again, Fukada and Asato (2004) find that Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory is universal in the sense that it applies to the study of honorifics in Japanese.

But not every researcher concurs with the universalism argument of the power-solidarity relations as postulated by Brown and Gilman (1968). Mashiri (1999), for instance, contends that Brown and Gilman’s theory of two relational social categories of direction of power and degree of solidarity cannot be regarded as a universal social semantics but as a local theory of markedness for a narrow range of European languages. This, according to Mashiri, has been demonstrated by the case for Shona, in which it is found that address behaviour is much more complex than just direction of power and degree of solidarity.

But Mashiri’s argument appears oblivious of the existence of the social classes of those with power and those that do not have power. The more powerful people have a tendency to use language that holds those without power in contempt. However, it may also be argued that there seems to be merit in the assertions that address behaviour is a much more sophisticated language phenomenon beyond the power-solidarity semantic. But such assertions too point to the universal nature of the address system.

This section has explored a number of factors that have been found to inform the choice of address forms cross-culturally. Among these factors are power and solidarity, the requirements for politeness, the need to accommodate others, personal relationships between the interlocutors, and the socio-cultural background of the participants in dyadic encounters. It has also been seen that under certain circumstances, speakers may avoid address forms altogether as a strategy in, complicated situations of status and solidarity. More importantly, forms of address are regarded as universal features of human languages. The current study seeks to use this background to examine linguistic data in Xitsonga with a view to providing

a detailed exploration of these claims. In the next section, the Gricean theory of conversation is examined.

(e) Conversational implicatures: the Gricean theory of conversation

Conversational implicatures are located within the field of pragmatics rather than semantics or sociolinguistics. A pragmatic approach locates the address system in a speech situation. The speech situation of an utterance consists of a number of elements (Leech, 1983). These are the addresser, the addressee, the context, the goal of the utterance, the illocutionary act of the utterance and the utterance as a product of a verbal act.

The context includes the background knowledge shared by the interlocutors, and thus contributes to the addressee's interpretation of the meaning of the utterance. Meaningful interpretation comes into being when interactors "share sufficient background about the context of the interaction, about each other and their society, and about the world in general," (Finegan, 2004:304). The illocutionary act of the utterance views the utterance as a form of act or activity. Thus pragmatics "deals with verbal acts or performances which take place in particular situations, in time, [i.e] with language at a more concrete level than grammar," (Leech, 1983:14). Furthermore, a speech situation focuses not on the verbal act itself, but on the utterance as a *product* of a verbal act, where for instance, a rising tone may transform a sentence into a question, or even a request. In addition, the time and the place in which the utterance takes place may also be factored in speech situations.

This approach to pragmatics is characterised as rhetorical (Ibid., 1983). Rhetorics are made up of conversational principles. One important principle is Paul Grice's Cooperative Principle or CP for short. The CP "explains how people act in conversation," (McCabe, 2011:21) and the 'co-operation' between speakers when using the conversational maxims (Richards et al., 1985). The CP states: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged," (Grice, 1975 in McCabe, 2011:21). In a nutshell, the CP touches on "an unspoken pact that people will *cooperate* in communicating with each other, and [that] speakers rely on this cooperation to make conversation efficient" (Finegan, 2004:300). This unspoken cooperation, as stated by the CP, creates pragmatic implications or implicatures.

The pact of cooperation is spelt out in four categories of communication, popularly known as the conversational maxims of the CP, and these can be described as follows (Leech, 1983; Richards et al., 1985, Horn, 2004; Finegan, 2004; Wänke, 2007; Ariel, 2010):

- (1) The maxim of quantity: give as much information as is needed;
- (2) The maxim of quality: speak truthfully;
- (3) The maxim of relation: say things that are relevant; and
- (4) The maxim of manner: say things clearly and briefly.

Also known as the sub-principles of the CP (McCabe, 2011), conversational maxims are unwritten rules about a conversation which people know and which influence the form of conversational exchanges that they make (Richards et al., 1985). These sub-principles account for the “the gap between linguistic semantic meanings and conveyed meanings, because they serve as a basis for generating implicit meanings, particularised conversational implicatures,” (Ariel, 2010:121). The sub-principles, surprisingly, are also responsible for speakers’ generation of implicatures both when they (the speakers) observe the maxims and when they flout them.

There are two sources for the generation of implicatures during dyadic encounters. First, there exists the assumption that the speaker is following the CP. The adherence to the CP creates expectations that the maxims are also being adhered to. The second source relates to clashes between the maxims. In complying with one maxim, the participant may be flouting another maxim because the four maxims often place contradictory demands on the speaker (Ariel, 2010).

The conversational maxims make a number of assumptions. The maxim of quantity requires the speaker to make his contribution as informative as is required without providing too much information so that his interlocutor must be able to understand his utterance without reading too much into it (Leech, 1983). In other words, the speaker must be “*appropriately informative*,” (Finegan, 2004:300). A speaker who provides too much information may be described as ‘always telling everybody his story’, and the one who habitually fails to give enough information may be seen as secretive and untrustworthy. The maxim of quality prohibits an interlocutor from giving false information or saying things without adequate evidence. Being relevant in what a speaker says is the requirement of the maxim of relation,

and the maxim of manner calls on speakers to be perspicuous, i.e to avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity, and to be brief and orderly in their utterances.

Conversational maxims form a necessary part of the description of the linguistic meaning because they attempt to explain the meanings of sentences where “a speaker appears to mean more than what he says,” (Leech, 1983:32). This explanation is constituted by means of these pragmatic implications or conversational implicatures. A conversational implicature is the use of these conversational maxims to imply meaning. The concept of implicatures refers to “the meaning of an utterance that goes beyond its literal meaning. [Implicatures] result as a consequence of the cooperative principle, which participants expect each other to observe,” (Wänke, 2007:224). The term implicature can also be described as:

A component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is meant in a speaker’s utterance without being part of what is said. What a speaker intends to communicate is characteristically far richer than what she directly expresses; linguistic meaning radically underdetermines the conveyed and understood. Speaker S tacitly exploits pragmatic principles to bridge this gap and counts on hearer H to invoke the same principles for the purposes of utterance (Horn, 2004).

It emerges that implicature is the contrast between the said and the meant (Anchimbe and Janney, 2011), and derivatively, between the said and the implicated; the implicated being the meant-but-unsaid (Horn, 2004).

According to Leech (1983), pragmatics attempts to explain the relation between the sense and the illocutionary force meanings of an utterance. While the sense of an utterance can be described by means of semantic representation in formal languages, the force of an utterance is represented as a set of implicatures. Clearly, Leech uses the terms sense and illocutionary force to refer to semantic and pragmatic meanings of utterances, respectively. The implicatures, in Leech’s view, are probabilistic. This entails that it is impossible to be ultimately certain of what a speaker means by an utterance because this is determined by the observable conditions, the utterance and the context, among others. Stated differently, since utterances are liable to illocutionary indeterminacy, it is also not always possible for the addressee “to come to the definite conclusion about what a [speaker] means. Interpreting an utterance is ultimately a matter of guesswork or hypothesis formation,” (Leech, 1983:30). It

is this implicature in utterances, i.e the additional or extra piece of meaning that an addressee derives from a proposition that causes the communicative problem.

But in actual utterances, people do not always adhere to the conversational maxims of the CP (McCabe, 2011). It is only normally assumed that for the purposes of exchanging information, speakers adhere to the CP and its sub-principles. But when they break the principles, they create an instance of conversational implicature. For example, if a person asks his interlocutor on the other side of the line: ‘With whom am I speaking?’, and the addressee responds *Profesa Risimati Makhubele* while he is neither a professor nor his name *Risimati*, he flouts the maxim of quality because he has provided false information. In this way, an implicature is created in which a speaker may interpret the use of the word ‘professor’ by the hearer as portraying himself as an educated and well-read person. In addition, the use of the name *Risimati* may be interpreted as someone who has graduated into adulthood at an initiation school, thus a person who probably grew up in a rural area. An additional implicature created by the name *Risimati* is of someone who was born before 1970s.

One of the tasks of the hearer is to arrive at the most likely interpretation of the utterance. According to Ariel (2010), there are three main stages of arriving at an implicature involving the interlocutors: giving the right amount of information (quantity), cooperation and telling or not telling a lie (quality).

In the writer’s own words,

Following these maxims translates into observing the CP even though ... violating any one of them necessarily amount to opting out of the CP. The maxims provide instructions to the speaker concerning the informativity, the truth and reliability, the relevance, and the style of her contribution. Roughly, the speaker is expected to be just informative enough (the Quantity maxim), (the maxim of Quality), relevant (the maxim of Relation perspicuous (the maxim of Manner) (Ibid., 2010:121)

McCabe (2011:22) explains further ways of arriving at the meaning of an implicature: “In order to work out these conversational implicatures, we rely on the conventional meanings of words used along with the context in which they are uttered, any background knowledge that we have of the situation, the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, and finally, the fact that

all of this knowledge is shared by both interlocutors.” This means that in an exchange, speakers have a number of options with respect to the maxims. Some of these options are (Ibid., 2011:22):

- (1) Observing the maxims;
- (2) Violating one or more maxims (for example, to achieve some benefit);
- (3) Opting out (for instance, unwillingness to adhere through refusal, etc);
- (4) Not fulfilling one maxim because of a clash with another; and
- (5) Flouting a maxim (i.e clearly and purposefully failing to fulfil it) in order to make a conversational implicature.

These stages of the rational process of interpretation demonstrate the presence of general principles of rational and social behaviour as motivators of the pragmatic force. In fact, the derivation of the implicature from the proposition is an informal rational problem-solving strategy used by human beings to solve interpretative problems rather than a formalised deductive logic. This strategy is also used in both highly abstract and complex scientific theorising and homely examples such as dyadic encounters in which the address system finds its traditional usage. The strategy consists of the following parts (Leech, 1983:31):

- (1) Formulating the most likely available hypothesis;
- (2) Testing the hypothesis; and if it fails
- (3) Formulating the next most likely available hypothesis, and so on.

It has already been pointed out that conversational implicatures are an attempt to explain the meanings of sentences in which a speaker seems to mean more than what he says. There is a bond between two distinct types of meanings: the sense (semantic meaning) and the force (pragmatic meaning or implicature). It is considered normal for an utterance to have both kinds of meaning where “force *includes* sense, and is also pragmatically *derivable* from it,” (Ibid., 1983:17). The sense or message of an utterance is its locutionary act whose production and subsequent understanding demands the speaker and the hearer to have knowledge of the morphosyntax, lexicon, semantics and phonology of the language concerned (Alan, 2006). The two-sided meaning of an utterance, which is “characterised as a REFLEXIVE INTENTION”, can be expressed by the following formula, where S stands for speaker, F for force and U for utterance (Leech, 1983):

S means F by U.

The two-sided nature of meaning is brought about by the fact that apart from conveying a message, it usually bears more than one illocutionary force (Allan, 2006) because in employing a language, the speaker intends to perform a speech act (Croddy, 2002) which he wants his hearer to recognise. The hearer must, therefore, reflect on this intention. It is contended that reflexive intention is carried out only by virtue of the Communicative Presumption: the mutual belief that when a person says something to another, such a speech act is done with some illocutionary goal in mind (Leech, 1983). This mutual belief, shared by both the speaker and the hearer, and which follows from the maxim of relation, is interpreted as follows: an utterance is relevant to a speech situation if it can be interpreted as contributing to the conversational goal of the speaker or hearer. The goal in the address system, for instance, may be to indicate to the addressee that he is kin, younger, socially inferior, and so on. There must, therefore, be a point of departure for the interpretation of the utterance meaning. Allan (2006:268) writes as follows:

The form of the locution in the utterance must be the starting point for the Hearer's interpretation of the utterance meaning. Thus, Hearer must seek to recognize (a) the locution, including the sense of each clause; (b) what Speaker intends the locution to refer to; and (c) the illocutionary forces within the utterance that give rise to its illocutionary point. Hearer hears the locution, recognizes its sense, looks to the context to figure out the apparent reference, and then seeks to infer Speaker's illocutionary intention.

Yet another presumption about the nature of pragmatic force is: if S means F by U, then S intends to recognise force *F by way of the sense of U* (Leech, 1983). In other words, force or conversational implicature “derives from the shared presumption that S and H are interacting rationally and cooperatively to reach a common goal,” (Horn, 2004:6). A speaker who says p but implicates q counts on his interlocutor to figure out what S means from what he said. This is based on the assumption that both S and H are rational agents. Thus, “speakers implicate, hearers infer,” (Ibid., 2004:6).

Notably, there are a number of factors that can lead to failure of communication and which are thus not within the realm of the domain of pragmatics (Leech, 1983). These are:

- (1) The speaker and hearer do not share the same linguistic knowledge;
- (2) The physical channel between the speaker and hearer are impaired;
- (3) The speaker does not observe rhetorical principles; and
- (4) The speaker and hearer have different socio-pragmatic values.

Thus, for effective communication, there must be a reciprocal participation between the speaker and the hearer in the illocutionary act. But what the speaker means by U may, to some extent, be indeterminate so that the hearer is given the opportunity to negotiate or decide the force of U.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Gricean theory of conversation is a theory of conversational implicatures. These implicatures are spelt out in the four conversational maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner, as suggested by the CP. Thus, address forms express not only sense and social meaning, but also conversational implicatures. That is, in using them, speakers communicate not only semantic, social and emotional meanings, but also pragmatic information; address forms have pragmatic implications. In the choice of the different types of address, it would be interesting to discover these different conversational implicatures underlying interlocutors' various dyadic interactions. In the next section, factors influencing the choice of address are explored.

1.2.2 Factors influencing the choice of the address system

The usage of address forms is a rule-governed behaviour (Parkinson, 1985) because “[k]nowledge of the proper use of terms of address is ... important to the overall success of communication,” (Dickey, 1997:7). In fact, the semantics of the address system can at best be understood within the confines of the socioculturally constituted rules which specify their relations to usage contexts and other elements in the native universe (Lyon, 1990). Factors that may influence variation in forms of address can be discussed under two broad dimensions (Misra, 1977; Qin, 2008; Dickey, 1997; Holmes, 1992): the dyadic relational dimension and the dyadic socio-cultural context dimension.

The dyadic relational dimension relates to the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and the dimension of dyadic socio-cultural context is a pointer to the role of cultural norms and conventions in address usage. But rules are sometimes violated, hence the need to identify the third dimension influencing address usage. This third dimension is the zero address dimension. Each of the three dimensions is given attention in the next subsections.

(a) The dyadic relational dimension

According to Parkinson (1985), a sociolinguistic approach of address system attempts to provide responses to a specific question: who is using what terms to whom and in what situations? This study is a search for responses to this and other questions. Similarly, Thomé-Williams (2004:85) asks: “when addressing a second person, what is the social position chosen by the speaker and where, socially, does he situate the listener”? It may be assumed that the linguistic data collected in response to these questions creates opportunities for obtaining the kind of rules that are involved in Xitsonga address system, that is, in addition to yielding factors that constrain these rules.

In the same vein, Qin’s (2008) study finds that interpersonal relationships is one of the necessary conditions in the choice of terms of address. The data in the study also indicate that the usage of address is motivated, rather than an arbitrary one. It is influenced by such factors as who, when, where, to whom the form is used, and with what kind of intentions. Another finding is that address forms are not interchangeable. This is evidenced by the fact that addressing your friend by his nickname (NN) in a formal situation may embarrass him but appropriate in an informal situation such as a party. Consequently, rather than static, the question of how a person addresses another is a dynamic and contextualised phenomenon. It is this dynamism that this research seeks to explore in detail. Parkinson (1985:1) expresses similar claims by writing as follows:

Students of communication have long held that communication in any speech event takes place on several levels simultaneously, and that the form of an utterance and the way it is said encode not only a referential meaning, but also encode much information about who the speaker believes he is, who he believes the addressee is, what he thinks their relationship is, and what he thinks he is doing by saying what he is saying. Terms of address, which often play little or no part in the basic grammatical structures of sentences, add little to the referential meaning of utterances, but they are often crucial in accurately conveying the other (social) kinds of information.

One of the most important levels in which communication takes place is the interpersonal level. The relationship of speaker and addressee consists of both the identity of the speaker and that of the addressee (Dickey, 1997). A number of elements play a part in this identity: age, sex, social status as determined by occupation and education (Qin, 2008), familiarity, kinship, membership and marital status. An individual comes in contact with others through a multiplicity of social roles as a member of brothers, workers, public speakers and so on. These roles involve some degree of linguistic specialisation (Misra, 1977). The use of the address system in the dyad is determined by these participants' social roles. These roles may be of a temporary nature (e.g a person's role in a profession) or of a permanent nature (e.g familial or genealogical relationships).

The thesis of the multiplicity of social roles inhabited by the individual points out that address design is not predictable from the properties of the address alone nor is it predictable from the properties of the speaker alone, "but only from properties of the dyad," (Dickey, 1997:8). Accordingly, therefore, it is normal for one individual to receive many different addresses from different speakers. It is thus not surprising for a school principal to be addressed as *Nhloko ya Xikolo* (principal) by her learners, as *Manana Mabunda* (Mrs Mabunda) by her colleagues, as *Tinyiko* her FN, by her peer friends, as *Conny* (her other FN) by her colleague friends and *mhani* (mom) by her children.

According to Koike (1992), the choice of speech act cannot be extracted from the social aspects of the interaction. By social aspects the writer refers to the relationship between the speaker and the listener. These social aspects involve three factors as follows:

- (1) the social *distance* between the two parties;
- (2) the relative *power* of both parties; and
- (3) the *ranking* of impositions in the particular culture.

In terms of the social variable of relative power, in the situation of a father addressing a child, the father enjoys relative power over the latter. Depending on the level of collegiality between the two, there may or may not be social distance between them. If the two are in a formal working relationship, the father will probably use a more formal means of address such as TLN or the plural pronoun *n'wina* (you). However, if the two have an informal relationship, the father may use TN or the singular pronoun *wena* (you).

Politeness can also be seen as “a conversational contract that reflects the status and social distance between [the speaker and the addressee] as well as the language that can be used to reflect their relationship,” (Koike, 1992:22). Politeness is abiding by the rules of the conversational contract which involve the relationship between the interlocutors. The voluntarily violation of the rules of the contract or interaction by the speaker can be viewed as impolite behaviour. By displaying polite behaviour, the speaker is seen as employing the “means of minimizing the risk of confrontation in discourse,” (Lakoff, 1989 in Koike, 1992:22), hence Ide (1989) in Koike (1992:22) refers to it as “smooth communication,” between the participants.

Again, Leech (1983) in Koike (1992), in addition to the language used, links politeness to both parties in the interactions. This view sees the production of an appropriate degree of politeness as an interaction between ‘static’ features and ‘dynamic’ features. The former is exemplified by social distance between the participants in the interactions; the latter by the kind of illocutionary demand that the speaker makes on the addressee. The social distance that may hold between the father and the girl child, as seen through the static usage of a kinship term by the latter, is illustrative of a static relationship between the two. On the other hand, the inclination by friends to alternate between divergent address forms is indicative of a dynamic interaction that they constantly establish and re-establish.

Leech (1983) in Koike (1992) is of the view that it is important to maintain the social relationship between the parties in a conversation on friendly terms. This enables the speaker to assume that cooperation will follow. In this regard, Leech formulated the following Politeness Principle:

(1) Minimise (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs.

For the effective realisation of the politeness principle the speaker should adhere to two properties of politeness. These properties can be seen as criteria to be met for a form of address to be considered polite. The properties are:

Property 1: Minimise the cost to the hearer.

Property 2: Maximise the benefit to the hearer.

The following examples of the properties of politeness illustrate the concretisation of the politeness principle:

Child A to father: ***Wena*** *papa u rhandza ku dya yini?*
 You father NON-HON love to eat what?
 You father, what would **you** like to eat?

Child B to father: ***N'wina*** *papa mi rhandza ku dya yini?*
 You father **NON-HON** love to eat what?
 You father, what would **you** like to eat?

In terms of the cost-benefit scale, it may be unacceptable in some Xitsonga speech communities for child A to address his father using the familiar pronominal form of address *wena* (you). Such usage is in violation of property 1 of the politeness principle. The usage is, therefore, less polite because it is of cost to the addressee *papa* (father). By contrast, it is considered normal for child B to address his father by the deferential pronoun *n'wina* (you). The child's choice maximises the benefit to the addressee because it fulfils the second property of politeness. The satisfaction of the two properties of politeness leads to the achievement of politeness, i.e the minimisation of the expression of impolite beliefs. The achievement of politeness can be illustrated in the form of a formula (see figure 1.1)

Figure 1.1: The achievement of politeness


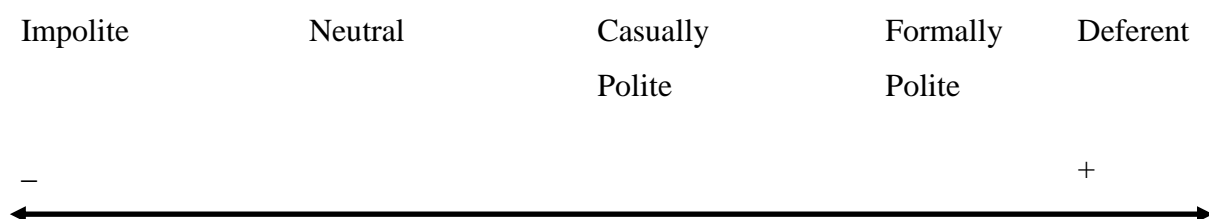
P1 (MC) + P2 (MB)  AP

Figure 1.1 illustrates that the achievement of politeness (AP) is a combination of two properties (P1 and P2), namely the minimisation of cost (MC) and the maximisation of benefit (MB) to the hearer. For politeness to be achieved, both properties must be satisfied.

Koike (1992) further argues that the degree of politeness that is conveyed by the speaker depends on the level of social relationship between the participants in the conversation. Such social relationship includes the variables of power and social distance between the interlocutors. The rules of politeness in a society, learned at an early age, state that in order to be attended to most successfully, a person must speak in ways that are pleasing to the listener. Politeness can thus be seen as a continuum, as in Figure 1.2 below:

Figure 1.2: Continuum of politeness



Source: Adapted from Koike (1992: 25)

Figure 1.2 indicates the degrees of politeness, from impoliteness on one extreme to deference on the other. The other degrees in between the poles range from neutral, casual to formal politeness.

The factor of personal relationships between the participants in an encounter “contributes to the assessment of social distance, and hence to the appropriate way of being polite,” (Holmes, 1992:302). For instance, many communities [in the West] had better go for mutual TLN in transactional relationships. Cases of transactional relationships are exemplified by, among others, interactions between shopkeepers and customers, and doctors and patients. Mutual TLN involves the use of reciprocal forms of address where the shopkeeper will address the customer as *Tatana Ngobeni* (Mr Ngobeni) and equally the customer uses *Tatana Nkuna* (Mr Nkuna) to the shopowner. Holmes (1992:302) has this to say about transactional relationships:

These relationships put the emphasis on the social distance dimension in that even when they are long-standing, they do not involve intimacy. To know someone 'well' involves more than just knowing them for a long time. Mutual TLN is also a marker of mutual respect, ... and it may be especially relevant to express this in certain contexts.

In addition, Holmes (1992) observes that the usually one-dimensional nature of transactional relationships implies that they may shift to become more personal. When this happens, the addressees will also shift to become mutual FN. Thus, the shopkeeper may shift from addressing his customer with FLN to his name *John*, and the customer in turn will shift to *Joe*. Parkinson (1985) states that defining and maintaining relationships is one of the most important functions of speech. It is also noted that terms of address deal directly with two functions, and as such it is not surprising that the structure of a term of address system is closely related to social variables that define speaker, addressee and their relationship.

The relative age of the participant plays a role in address usage (Holmes, 1992; Qin, 2008). Holmes (1992:302) describes a number of types of participants in face-to-face encounters who normally receive FN on account of the age factor as follows:

Adults use FN to children on first meeting. Young people are more likely to receive FN in any context. A young shop assistant, hairdresser, cleaner, or an office junior will receive FN from a customer or client, and will often be expected to use TLN back, especially if the person is a generation or more older.

This hypothesis finds resonance in Misra (1977), arguing that a person either belongs to the older or the younger generation. Older generations usually stick to customs and traditions, and as such they may be more orthodox in their values and attitudes, bringing with them tendencies towards the asymmetrical 'you'.

While there may be identifiable age groupings who receive FN in terms of their age in different situations in Western culture, in Xitsonga indications are tilted towards a much more sophisticated situation. Children may be addressed differently from across the gender divide. For example, the adult men, in Xitsonga may prefer LN usage based on the status of the child's family as in Javanese (Holmes, 1992). A possibility also exists for LN usage with simultaneous preference for the familiar pronoun *wena* (you). In an interaction between a

hairdresser and a client, the choice of address may be informed by seniority in terms of birth. Where the hairdresser is older, she may address her client with FN or with TLN in cases where she is younger.

Marital status can play a role in the choice of address. Married women may be addressed differently from unmarried women. Married women may also view their addressees differently from their unmarried counterparts. They may, for example, switch to the symmetrical 'you' even to people younger than themselves.

From the foregoing, it seems that address choice is an interplay of a complex web of interconnected and interwoven underlying real life factors that are interpersonal in nature. If this is true, the need to unpack this interplay as it applies to Xitsonga culture cannot be overemphasised. But since all societies are by origin framed along the interpersonal dimension, logic informs us that address forms are universal features of all linguistic systems. In the next subsection, the address system is located within the broader historical, social, cultural, economic, and political framework.

(b) The dyadic socio-cultural context dimension

Zeyrek (2001) distinguishes between culture and social phenomena. Culture is defined as a script or a schema shared by members of a society. Culture, in terms of this definition, includes knowledge of a wide range of values, beliefs, norms and ideas shaped by tradition. In this respect, members of a society have the same culture if they share common values, beliefs and norms. Social phenomena are described as "individuals' understanding of situational factors such as gender roles, distance versus closeness, power and solidarity," (Zeyrek, 2001:43). From this perspective, individuals will have a common social background if they have common understanding of situational factors.

The interface between culture and social phenomena on the one hand, and language on the other, can be described as follows:

Socio-cultural phenomena affect language, and the way language is used can have an impact on how socio-cultural phenomena are perceived. This is because beliefs, values, ideas and perceptions are reinstated through language and can eventually become considered as appropriate behaviour (Ibid., 2001:43).

Lee-Wong (1997) also notes an interwoven relationship between language and society. It is held that a linguistic order establishes a social order just as a social order establishes a linguistic order. This view points out that society is to language as language is to society. There cannot be, therefore, a society without language in the same way that there can be no language without a society. Specifically, the address order establishes and exists in the social order, and the social order establishes and exists in the address order. The two ride on each other's backs. This is explained as follows (Ibid., 1997:95):

To establish a linguistic order is to establish a social order. Language constitutes social life, just as social life is constituted by language. It is equally true that to establish a social order is to establish a linguistic order. Social life constitutes language, just as language is constituted by social life.

Address systems can be vehicles of socio-cultural communication for another reason. They are an important feature of the interface between language and society (Mashiri, 1999; Aliakbari and Toni, 2008). Address systems have their roots in sociocultural context of society with speakers using them to negotiate or transform that cultural system. Ide (2001:xiii) further explains:

Language is not only a means of communication, but also the means to express the speaker's understanding of the situation and the interaction, reflected in the choices made from among those the language provides. These choices are based on cultural values and are realised through the choice of words or expressions.

Thus individuals do not just make choices of address terms in a vacuum. On the contrary, the choice of address vocabulary is based on the cultural values of a society. Thus again, the idea of a reciprocal relationship between language and culture in terms of address usage is mooted. A similar sentiment is expressed by Kirschon (2001), who states that language is a mirror that reflects key themes of a society and the medium through which central cultural preoccupations are given expression. It may thus be argued that without language, it is impossible to express situational factors and cultural preoccupations. Similarly, Qin (2008) holds that apart from interpersonal relationships, the concrete contexts in which address forms are used are a necessary condition in the choice of terms of address. A person cannot,

therefore, make the choice of address term without contextual factors that inform such choices.

According to Koike (1992), an address form is not inherently polite or deferent. Its politeness or deference status is generated by its social context and the rules of conduct and expectations established by that society. Goffman (1967) in Koike (1992:25) expresses this view in the following way:

Rules of conduct impose themselves on the individual as “obligations, establishing how he is morally constrained to conduct himself,” and as “expectations, establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to himself.” These obligations and expectations define the ways in which polite and deferent acts are expressed and interpreted in a particular society and culture.

Since every society is different from others, it follows that the forms of the address system in Xitsonga would be different from other forms in other societies. It may well also be that speakers from the same Xitsonga cultural background have the same obligations and expectations in terms of address usage. The socioeconomic and educational background of the interlocutors may vary, but their shared cultural background enables them to have more or less the same obligations and expectations with respect to their linguistic behaviours in the dyad (Koike, 1992).

A number of grounds can be distinguished in an attempt to explain the impossibility of studying the semantic implications of the choice of address without taking the broad social and familial dimensions of participants’ situations into account (Misra, 1977). In the first place, an individual speaks against the background of his socio-cultural values and attitudes. Secondly, the speaker is conditioned by the framework of the temporal and regional provenance of the speech event. The socio-cultural context of the dyad includes three categories: the setting, the audience and the topic of discourse (Ibid., 1977; Dickey, 1997).

The setting involves taking into account whether the conversation takes place between two brothers at tea, between husband and wife watching television in the living room, between a mother and her daughter in the kitchen, or a storytelling event near the fireplace between a grandmother and her grandchildren (Misra, 1977). There are, however, certain settings that require specific forms of address. A judge in a court of law, for example, is addressed as

muhlonipheki (your honour) even by his own family members who would otherwise address him/her differently in a family setting (Dickey, 1997).

Address forms are also affected by the audience or the presence of others. There may be instances, for example, where a woman addresses her husband by the deferential pronoun *n'wina* (you) in the presence of his or her friends, and other family or community members but uses the familiar pronoun *wena* (you) when she is alone with him.

Topic of discourse too can affect the choice of address. Considerations have to be made as to whether the conversation “relates to some personal or impersonal problem of a social, political, or amorous, or professional or academic problem of a transient or permanent nature” (Misra, 1977:15). In a personal conversation, an addresser can inflate the number and variety of terms of address when praise-naming an addressee in a ceremony. For example, a praise singer who is well-versed with the Kubayi totem naming system may address a Kubayi addressee in a graduation ceremony using the familiar pronoun *wena* (you) where in normal circumstances, he would use the deferential pronoun *n'wina* (you), as follows:

Wena mafumisa swisiwana.

You wealth-creator poor-people.

You who creates wealth for the poor.

Wena Nghomani

You Nghomani.

Wena Xibihani

You Xibihani.

Wena wa mabiha hi masirha.

You AGR fortifier by graves.

You who fortify your home with graves. (Oral sources; public domain)

Contextual factors play a major role in the usage of address. Holmes (1992:305) has the following to say:

Learning another language usually involves a great deal more than learning the literal meaning of the words, how to put them together, and how to pronounce them. We need to know what they mean in the cultural context in which they are normally used. And that involves some understanding of the cultural and social norms of their users.

It is held that in terms of the influence of cultural norms in address usage, the better you know someone, the more casual and relaxed the address form you will use to that person. But when the addresser does not know the addressee well, and where the latter is the superior, both of these factors predict that the addresser will use FLN. Hence, in meeting a well-known soccer boss such as Irvin Khoza in South Africa, a Xitsonga speaker is more likely to address him with FLN. Specifically, individuals use considerably more standard forms to those that they do not know well, and more vernacular forms to their friends (Holmes, 1992). On this, Koike (1992:1) concurs:

Much everyday language is ritualistic and expected according to the norms of the particular society. While the exact messages one conveys cannot be anticipated, the frames one utilizes to communicate them usually can be predicted in accordance with the social and linguistic context in which they occur.

These special linguistic rituals involve the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic systems of the language and are governed by the sociocultural contexts in which they occur while they are simultaneously used to facilitate communication (Ibid., 1992). The grammatical system includes the interrelated components of syntax, lexicon and phonology; components that are directly manifested in the actual utterance. It is in the grammatical system that linguistic options are selected according to “sociocultural expectations [including] those present in situations requiring the observance of rules of politeness,” (Op. cit., 1992:2).

The pragmatic system comprises the selection of linguistic options that are available to express the message in a particular way following the context of interaction. This sphere considers the effect that the speaker wishes to convey through the message he or she intends the listener to understand.

A tricky situation, however, exists when the addressee is the subordinate and is not well known to the addresser (Holmes, 1992). In such a situation, the addresser will tend to express

his solidarity with his addressee by using TLN. Xitsonga speaking middle class workers tend to address cleaners, especially older ones, by their titles and last name.

A final crucial socio-contextual factor influencing the choice of address, but which, according to Dickey (1997:9), is not part of a fixed rule which setting, audience and topic of discourse typify, is “the feelings of the speaker towards the addressee and the general emotional level of the interaction”. Misra (1977) asserts that emotional terms of address are based on man’s being or his psychological dimension, hence their inherent qualities to cause a special reaction from the addressee, leading to their status as marked forms. Dickey (1997:9) notes the distinction between marked and unmarked addresses by writing as follows:

Addresses which follow the rules of the address system are known as ‘unmarked’ forms; they are the terms the addressee expects to hear and therefore cause no special reaction. Expression of emotion occurs when the rules determined by these other factors are broken; that is, when ‘marked’ addresses are used.

Clearly, when a speaker is experiencing a psychological state of emotion, he or she may break the rules of address engagement and uses marked addresses. A person’s emotion may involve transient emotional excitement or a permanent emotional attitude of sympathy or antipathy towards an individual or even a class of people (Misra, 1977). In respect of the latter, a woman who is angry with her husband for habitual drunkenness may, for example, switch from addressing him by the endearment term *papa Shitlhangu* (the father of Shitlhangu) as in unmarked occasions, to addressing him by his FN *Risimati*.

In conclusion, Trubetzkoy (1969) in Parkinson (1985:2) proposes a model of meaning which is based on the understanding that “all speech events involve at least a speaker, one or more addressees, and a topic, the thing being spoken about”. According to this model, the overall meaning of an utterance includes the composite message of mingled conventional signals which are related to three aspects: signals related to topic, signals related to the speaker, and signals related to the addressee. Trubetzkoy (1969) in Parkinson (1985) refers to the speaker related meanings as the manifestation meanings, and the addressee related meanings as the appeal meanings. The manifestation and appeal meanings together share much in common and are seen as quite different from the topic related meanings (representation). This model is illustrated in Figure 1.3 below.

Figure 1.3: Model of the meaning of an utterance

Representation	(it)	(digital)	CONTENT
Appeal	(you)		
		(analogic)	RELATIONSHIP
Manifestation	(I)		

Source: Parkinson (1985: 2)

According to this model, the meaning of an utterance consists of two levels, the representation (referential) meaning level, and the manifestation and appeal levels of the meaning. The representational meaning refers to the overt content part of meaning of the utterance. At the content level, there is a one to one correspondence between the morphemes in the utterance and the representational meaning. The relationship is, therefore, digital. In other words, representation refers to anything about the content (it). It is postulated that the relationship part of the meaning is present in every utterance but may be submerged in varying degrees.

On the other hand, manifestation is to the utterance's implication about the speaker (I) as appeal is to the utterance's implication about the addressee (you) (Parkinson, 1985). The relationship level is at the analogic level because there is no one to one correspondence between the morphemes in the utterance and the manifestation/appeal meaning. In the study of the terms of address in Xitsonga, it is important to pay attention to these two levels.

It has become apparent that address usage is a combination of a multiplicity of socio-pragmatic factors. This subsection has brought together these factors into two broad categories of dyadic relations and socio-cultural dimensions. The role of these dimensions as they pertain to Xitsonga culture is unpacked in this study. For now it is helpful to turn to rules governing avoidance in address usage.

(c) The zero address dimension

Zero address, otherwise referred to as no-naming, occurs when the participants in interactions are not sure of which term to use and then choose to avoid the address terms altogether and/or

then use nothing at all (O'Grady et al., 1996; Wardhaugh, 1992). According to Holmes (1992), the avoidance of address usage in Western societies occurs in a complicated interaction between social status and social distance. Often, this happens when there is a conflict of norms in a situation of high status with high solidarity on the one hand, and a situation of low status with low solidarity on the other.

An addresser can use FN to a lower status addressee whom he knows well. Under these circumstances, the addressee, who also knows the addresser well, may find it appropriate but difficult to reciprocate by also using FN because of his subordinate status. The use of zero address form in this case is an attempt to resolve the dilemma of the conflict of norms between the addressee with a low status and a low solidarity on the one extreme, and the addresser with a high status and a high solidarity, on the other.

The notion of address avoidance may also be used to refer to a situation where a person is in doubt as to how to address another person. According to Aliakbari and Toni (2008), in Persian, the speaker would avoid such difficulty by resorting to attention getters such as *bebakhshid* (excuse me) or *mazerat mikham* (pardon me), or greetings such as *salam* (hello) or *sobh bekheyr* (good morning). In Xitsonga culture, a younger brother or sister is expected to address his older brother or sister through the asymmetrical second person pronoun *n'wina* (you) (SN). Where he or she is supposed to address him or her by his or her name, this should be prefaced by the kinship term *buti* (brother) and *sesi* (sister) followed by the addressee's first name, as in *buti Khazamula* (brother Khazamula) or *sesi Ndaheni* (sister Ndaheni). Where the younger brother or younger sister finds it difficult to address their senior counterparts in this way, he or she may try avoiding the use of both the pronoun and the kinship term.

There are two strategies of doing this. In the first strategy, the addresser can replace both the pronoun and the kinship term by the place locative impersonal pronoun *ka* (there).

Normal Address usage

Va **ku** lava.

They **AGR-SING.** want.

They want **you**.

Zero address usage

Ka laviwa.

Place locative there wanted.

You are wanted

Va mi lava.

They **AGR-PL** want.

They want you.

Ka laviwa.

Place locative there is wanted.

You are wanted.

The above examples illustrate one strategy of address avoidance between the less powerful younger brother addresser and the more powerful older brother addressee. In this strategy, the addresser avoids using either the singular agreement marker *ku* (SING. you) or its plural counterpart *mi* (PL. you) by substituting either of the two with the impersonal place locative pronoun *ka* (there), followed by the causative form of the verb (e.g. *laviwa* – wanted). The impact of the strategy is to avoid direct address to the addressee. The addresser does this by using the place locative ‘there’.

The second strategy is better illustrated using propositives (let’s’ constructions) (Allan, 2006) and directives. In using this strategy, the addresser opts for the passive voice where under normal circumstances the active voice would be appropriate. The strategy also involves avoiding the directives altogether in favour of the propositives. The following evidence backs this claim:

Normal address usage (Active voice)

A hi tsemi tihunyi.

Let us **chop-SING.** wood.

Let us chop wood.

A hi tsemeni tihunyi.

Let us **chop-PL.** wood.

Let us chop wood.

Tsema tihunyi.

Chop-SING. wood.

Chop the wood.

Tsemani tihunyi.

Chop-PL. wood.

Chop the wood.

Zero address usage (passive voice)

A ku tsemiwi tihunyi.

Let there **chopped** wood.

Let wood **be chopped.**

A ku tsemiwi tihunyi.

Let there **chopped** wood.

Let wood **be chopped.**

A ku tsemiwi tihunyi.

Let there **chopped** wood.

Let wood **be chopped.**

A ku tsemiwi tihunyi.

Let there **chopped** wood.

Let wood **be chopped.**

The impact of resorting to passive constructions instead of active constructions is two-fold. First, it has the effect of excluding the subject *hi* (we). Consequently, the addresser avoids

addressing his partner in the dyad altogether. The inclusion of the subject results in the ungrammaticality of the construction. Thus, the following sentence is grammatically incorrect:

**A ku tsemiwi tihunyi hi hina.*

Let there chopped wood by **us**.

Let wood be chopped by **us**.

Secondly, by using the passive construction form of the propositive, the speaker avoids both the use of the singular form of the verb *tsemi* (chop) and or its plural counterpart *tsemeni* (chop). Similarly, by avoiding the use of the directive in favour of the passive construction, the speaker avoids both the use of the singular form of the verb *tsema* (chop) and or its plural relation *tsemani* (chop). In Xitsonga, the verb ending form *-ni* brings about plurality of the verb, and is used to indicate plurality of the entity being addressed. Hence, the forms of the verb pairs *tsemi/tsema* (chop) and *tsemeni/tsemani* (chop) suggest the respective singularity and plurality of their addressees. Their respective different morphological forms only reflect the types of constructions in which they appear. Specifically, to express the singularity of their addressees, both the propositives and the directives take the respective *-i* and *-a* verbal root endings. In both the propositives and directives, when the verbs are used to express plurality, the respective suffixes *-eni* and *-ani* are added to the verbal roots (e.g. *tsem-*).

According to O'Grady (1996), the provision for no-naming is a consequence of complexities in the rules for decision-making of appropriate forms and the possibility of selecting inappropriate forms that may even be rude or insulting to the addressees. Such rules required for deciding on the appropriate forms, if any, need to be uncovered for more understanding of their causality in Xitsonga. Also to be probed are the grounds for avoiding forms of address on the basis of possibility of selecting inappropriate ones.

1.3 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

It is useful to provide working definitions of key concepts as they appear in the research because a “definition shapes the ideas and theory to be discussed” (Koike, 1992:35). Two such concepts are defined.

1.3.1 Address forms

Dickey (2002:5) defines the concept ‘address’ as “a speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s)”. Included in this definition are nouns such as *Mary*, pronouns such as *wena/n’wina* (you), titles (or their alternative subject concords) such as *Manana* (Mrs) and kinship terms *malume* (uncle). Forms of address may also be described as the words used to address somebody whether in speech or in writing (Richards et al., 1985; Parkinson, 1985) to designate the person they are talking to while they are talking to them (Fasold, 1990; Oyetande, 1995). It is held that the address system is used when the speaker has his or her listener’s attention. In this way, address forms differ from summonses because the latter are used to get the speaker’s attention.

It is said that “a term that is used for an addressee in a dyadic encounter may not necessarily be the same as the one used in the absence of the same addressee,” (Afful, 2007:180). In the same vein, Qin (2008:409) sees terms of address as “vocatives, i.e terms of direct address to call persons”. Such terms include names like ‘Mary’, titles without a name, like ‘sir’ and ‘doctor’, or any word used to address a person including ‘hey’ or ‘man’.

Knowledge of the address system includes knowledge of the different types of address to be used with different people that an individual speaks to and in different situations (Richards et al., 1985). Thus, the address system is part of the speaker’s communicative competence. One important area of communicative competence is sociolinguistic competence which, according to Hudson (2000), concerns the acknowledgement and expression of social relationships and circumstances.

Although each of the forms of address at the speaker’s disposal may be grammatical and makes a fully meaningful contribution to the discourse of the moment, only one of them may satisfy societal expectations and the speaker’s preferred presentation of self (Hudson, 2000). For example, in Xitsonga, the use of a name to address one’s mother expresses a bad attitude or misunderstanding of recognised social propriety. On a similar note, the choice of the plural pronominal form *n’wina* (you) to a 12-year old may express inappropriate deference. Thus every language accommodates differences of non-discrete scale or continuum of recognisably different linguistic ‘levels’, styles or registers (Ibid., 2000). Communication is a choice between different address forms with different persons under differing communicative

situations. Every speech situation or occasion of speech determines a different register or a different form of address.

In this study the term “address forms” will be used as described by Richards et al. (1985), Fasold (1990), Oyetande (1995), Hudson (2000), Dickey (2002), Afful (2007) and Qin (2008). In other words, forms of address are:

- (1) The words used by a speaker to address another person in speech.
- (2) The words a speaker uses to designate the person he/she is talking to while he/she is talking to him/her, and when the speaker has the listener’s attention.
- (3) An expression used in a face-to-face situation to designate an addressee in a dyadic encounter.
- (4) Vocatives such as names, titles or any word used to address that person.

1.3.2 Socio-pragmatics

A socio-pragmatic study encompasses both sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Sociolinguistics investigates the relationship between language and society, that is, the way in which language is used in a society (Wardhaugh, 1992; Dickey, 2002). The goal of a sociolinguistic investigation is a better understanding of the structure of language and its functioning in communication in a society. Sociolinguistics is thus the study of language in relation to social factors: social class, educational, age, sex, ethnic origin and so on (Richards et al., 1985). This study examines the address system at a micro-sociolinguistic or interpersonal communication level. Such an approach focuses on address design as specific linguistic items with individual differences but having wide-ranging linguistic social implications (Wardhaugh, 1992). It means “looking not only for traditional ‘linguistic’ structure, but also for the social structure of the terms as a linguistic subsystem,” (Parkinson, 1985:3). From this perspective, this sociolinguistic study pays attention to the ability of the speaker to function effectively in the communicative situation.

Fairclough (1989) contends that sociolinguistics is strong on ‘what’ questions but weak on ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions in terms of the development of social relationships of power. While it can strongly answer questions of what the facts of variation are, it cannot equally respond to questions of why and how the existing sociolinguistic order is brought into being.

A sociolinguistic study is also unable to answer questions relating to how the sociolinguistic order might be changed to the advantage of those who are dominated by it.

In order to provide a meaningful definition of pragmatics, it is helpful to examine it concurrently with semantics. Semantics focuses on the literal or face-value meaning of words and phrases (McCabe, 2011), i.e meaning as a dyadic relation. Meaning is defined outside its contextualized use, that is, in abstract terms. Pragmatics, on the other hand, takes semantics a step further and considers meaning in relation to the situation; prominence is given to the speakers and the hearers as users of the language (Ariel, 2010; McCabe, 2011). Attention is paid to meaning as a triadic relation: the word or phrase, the world out there and the situation in which the utterance is used (Leech, 1983).

Whereas semantics responds to the question: ‘What does X mean?’, pragmatics relates to the question: ‘What did you mean by X’? (Ibid., 1983). Thus, semantics deals with “what an ideal speaker would know about the meaning of a sentence when no information is available about its context,” (Katz, 1977, in Recanati, 2004:447). By contrast, in pragmatics, the setting or context of an utterance plays a role in how utterances are understood. Due to “indexicality and other related phenomena, purely linguistic knowledge is insufficient to determine the truth conditions of an utterance,” (Recanati, 2004). According to Leech (1983), semantics deals with sentence meaning, and pragmatics with utterance meaning. Clearly, the study of semantics is a requirement for the study of pragmatics. On this basis, the latter closes the gap left open by the former approach. Within this framework, pragmatics rides on the back of semantics, making the two complementary fields.

In this study, a socio-pragmatic perspective is one:

- (1) that believes that there exists a relationship between language (Xitsonga) and society (Xitsonga speakers);
- (2) that looks at the linguistic structure (the address system) as utterances in which meaning is a triadic relation;
- (3) that studies the linguistic structure (the address system) in relation to the social structure (interpersonal relationships, social context, etc) of Xitsonga speakers; and

(4) that notes Fairclough's (1989) observation that sociolinguistics finds its strength on 'what' questions but that pragmatics takes it a step further and responds to the 'why' and 'how' questions about the address forms in Xitsonga.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although address usage may be a universal phenomenon cross-culturally, there are parametric variations in individual languages in line with the cultural practices of different communities (Mashiri, 1999). In other words, the forces that influence the choice of address forms vary in specific languages. Specifically, the choice of the familiar and the power pronominal forms *tu* and *vous* in French, and *wena* and *n'wina* in Xitsonga are informed by different interpersonal relationships between the participants in the dyads, and the socio-cultural and communication factors. It becomes important to identify, explore and describe the problem of how Xitsonga speakers use address forms in interpersonal interactions to raise socio-cultural and communication issues.

One of the broad goals of this study is to explore the social, cultural, economic, political and linguistic dynamics associated with address behaviour in Xitsonga. On the basis of this background, the research question may be defined as:

What are the socio-cultural rules, values, expectations and practices underlying address usage in Xitsonga dyadic encounters, and what is their impact on the different interpersonal relationships between the parties in the dyad?

When forms of address are used to address other persons as equals, superiors or inferiors, they may take various forms, including lexical choices, morphosyntactic selections and even intonational patterns (Thomé-Williams, 2004). More importantly, through address behaviour, the speaker indicates the kinds of relationships, social distance or solidarity that he or she wants to maintain. Thus, this study of the address system in Xitsonga is an attempt to partly respond to Thomé-Williams' (2004:85) question: "when addressing a second person, what is the social position chosen by the speaker and where, socially, does he situate the listener"?

1.5 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the nature of the interpersonal relationships and social rules underlying the address system in Xitsonga in dyadic encounters using a socio-pragmatic approach. It is, therefore, an interdisciplinary study because address usage is examined from both a sociolinguistics and pragmatics point of view (see Liamputtong, 2009). A dyad refers to “two people in communication with each other,” (Richards et al., 1985:88). It is a face-to-face encounter between the two people in an interpersonal relationship. The six main objectives of the study are:

1.5.1 To identify and describe the types of terms of address and reference used by Xitsonga speakers in addressing one another in dyadic encounters

The focus in this objective is to respond to the question: What are the different forms of the terms of address in Xitsonga and how can they be described? It is assumed that forms of address manifest themselves through lexical items, morphosyntactic selections and intonational patterns.

1.5.2 To explore the role of socio-cultural rules and contexts in the observation of address usage in various interpersonal relationships in Xitsonga

The point of departure in this objective is to answer the question: What are the socio-cultural rules and contexts of actual address choice in interpersonal relationships between interlocutors in dyadic encounters in Xitsonga? This question is informed by the understanding that speakers’ choice of forms of address is not an arbitrary one; it is motivated by the contexts of the dyad in which the speakers are located. This objective is linked to the group values, norms, expectations, practices and social rules underlying Xitsonga culture.

1.5.3 To investigate address usage in Xitsonga in terms of Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity dynamics, politeness, accommodation and Gricean principles

The question underlying this objective is: To what extent do power and solidarity relations, the requirements for politeness, the need to accommodate the addressee and pragmatic implications have an impact on address usage in Xitsonga? This question is informed by the understanding that the power-solidarity relations, the requirement for politeness, the need for accommodation and pragmatic implications are cross-cultural forces that form the basis for the use of forms of address.

1.5.4 To identify and describe factors that determine address inversion in Xitsonga

The basis of this objective is the question: What are the factors determining address inversion with respect to address usage in Xitsonga, and what is the impact of these factors? This objective assumes that under certain circumstances, it is possible for a senior address term or a superior status term to be used reciprocally to the junior/inferior of the dyad.

1.5.5 To investigate factors influencing zero address in Xitsonga

This objective is based on the question: What are the factors influencing address avoidance in Xitsonga? This objective is linked to the idea that speakers avoid addressing their interlocutors as a strategy to achieve the realities of the power relational dynamics.

1.5.6 To locate the address system in Xitsonga within the broader language framework

This objective is founded on the question: In what way can address usage be located within the ambit of generative grammar? The basis of this objective is the understanding that every society uses language, in particular, the address system, to deal with issues of politeness, interpersonal relationships and socio-cultural issues.

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The notion of face, both positive and negative, and the understanding that all societies have a need for engaging in interpersonal interactions, point out that address usage is both a cultural and a cross-cultural phenomenon. This is supported by the understanding that all societies, irrespective of divergences in their cultural orientations, are engaged in forms of power and solidarity, enabling individuals to address each other as equals, superiors or inferiors. The challenge is to determine the rules of social behaviour that allow differentiability in address forms and usage in different conditions, contexts or circumstances in Xitsonga. Thus, this study presents a multiplicity of values to the entire language practice fraternity in terms of social and cultural rules governing the address system in Xitsonga. These values are the requirements of politeness, rules of social behaviour, the rules for accommodation, the power and solidarity semantics, personal relationships between the interlocutors in the face-to-face communication, and socio-cultural practices. The exploration of these rules leads to an understanding of Xitsonga not only as a linguistic system that is self-referential, but more as a transcendent socio-cultural organising system.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The use of the address system reflects values, norms and practices of different societies (Afful, 2007). This study is an examination of the role of values, norms and practices, cultural and social rules in address behaviour in Xitsonga. Dickey (1997) states that speakers of a language are a multitude of heterogeneity or subgroups divided along social and regional dialects, age distinctions, rural or urban origin, differentiated social classes, occupational and educational levels, and ideological or religious principles. On the basis of this proposition, the speakers of Xitsonga harbour different norms and values of address design. However, for the purposes of this study, an assumption is made that both members of the dyad have the same set of socio-pragmatic rules.

The scope of the research is a qualitative investigation of the interpersonal relationships and socio-cultural rules underlying address disposition in Xitsonga at Hlanganani, Makhado Municipality, Limpopo Province, South Africa.

This research is limited to the address system in Xitsonga and how its usage in dyadic encounters impacts on the different interpersonal relationships between the participants. The study examines names, titles, teknonyms, kinship terms, the pronominal and the honorific systems. These address forms can be used to carry social meaning (Ibid., 2002). In Xitsonga, the difference between the familiar pronoun *wena* (you) and the deferential form *n'wina* (you) is usually carried by the subject concords *u* and *mi* alone. The use of these subject concords/honorifics usually expresses the meaning as clearly as if the pronominal forms themselves have been used. A number of categories in the dyadic relational dimension and the socio-cultural dimension will be investigated (Misra, 1977).

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into six chapters as follows (see Table 1.1 below):

Table 1.1: The six chapters of the study

Chapter	Description
1	General introduction: consists of the introduction and background to the research, the definition of key concepts, the problem statement, the purpose of the research and objectives of the research, the rationale for the study, the scope of the study and the organisation of the study.
2	Literature review: both classical and current research works on theories of address usage are probed and contextualised. The review also focuses on the six objectives of the study. Thus, the review is divided into the following sections: introduction; literature on names, titles and teknonyms as forms of address; literature on the kinship system as a form of address; literature on

	the pronominal and honorific systems as forms of address; literature on the relationship between forms of address and terms of reference; literature on address avoidance as a form of address; and summary.
3	Research methodology: looks at the research methodologies used in the research to gather and to analyse the data. The chapter is therefore divided into the following sections, namely: introduction; research design and strategy; data collection and analysis; criteria for ensuring the rigour of the research; ethical considerations; research questions; report writing; and summary.
4	Research results: discusses the data or results of the study naturally leads to their analysis and interpretation.
5	Analysis and interpretation of research results: analyses and interprets the research results. This chapter is divided into the following sections: introduction; address and reference between family members in Xitsonga; address and reference to extended family members in Xitsonga; address and reference to in-laws in Xitsonga; address and reference to non-family members in Xitsonga; address to familiar persons in Xitsonga; education, wealth and social positions as factors influencing address inversion in Xitsonga; addressing medical practitioners in the workplace in Xitsonga; factors determining address choice in Xitsonga; and summary.
6	Findings, conclusions and recommendations: brings the thrust of the research together by paying attention to the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The chapter is divided into five sections, as follows: introduction; findings; conclusions; recommendations; and summary.

1.9 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined of the thesis structure through which a socio-pragmatic study on the address system in Xitsonga unfolds. The overall goal of the research is to uncover the socio-cultural and communication rules underpinning address choice in Xitsonga. The chapter focused on the background to the study. Five main theoretical frameworks that form the foundation from which the study is based were discussed: the theory of power and solidarity, politeness theory, accommodation theory, the theory of universal grammar and the Gricean theory of conversation. Besides, three factors that play a role in the choice of address forms were pinpointed and contextualised. These are the dyadic relational dimension, the dyadic socio-cultural context dimension and the zero address dimension. Key concepts were abstracted from the research topic and defined. Furthermore, the study looked at the problem statement. It is at this level that the research question was defined. In the subsection dealing with the purpose of the research, six objectives of the study were identified and briefly explored. This was followed by a short outline and discussion of the rationale for the study, and the scope of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the existing body of literature on the address system. Martiny (1996) hypothesizes that in order to account for the differences in the combination of address forms, it is instructive for the researcher not to focus exclusively on T and V to the exclusion of all other forms from his or her scope of investigation. T and V are abbreviations for the respective French singular and plural second person pronoun forms *tu* and *vous* (Brown and Gilman, 1968). Besides the respective singular and plural addressees, the T form is used to intimates, inferiors or familiar addressees and the V form is used to address both non-intimates and superiors (Richards et al., 1985; Dickey, 1997; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Thus the T form is known as the solidarity semantic and the V form as the pronoun of power.

In addition to the second person pronominal system, speakers of a language may have a wide range of other linguistic devices at their disposal that are used to express power and solidarity, amongst other semantics. Thus, in order to make a comprehensive identification and coverage of address usage in Xitsonga, there is a need to fulfil the requirement of a clear classification scheme. It is, therefore, important to classify literature on address behaviour under a number of broad categories.

2.2 LITERATURE ON NAMES, TITLES AND TEKNONYMS AS FORMS OF ADDRESS

This section explores literature on names, titles and teknonyms as address forms. The section is therefore divided into three subsections. The reason for the inclusion of the three forms of

address in one heading is that in practice, titles are used to preface family names, and teknonyms are actually an extension of first names.

2.2.1 Names

A name is a term used to denote a specific individual, identifying him or her directly (Lehrer, 2006; Hanks, 2006). Thus, names, in terms of this school of thought, are construed as semantically empty elements because they merely pick up an individual irrespective of his attributes or properties. As conventional identifiers, their bestowal on individuals is seen as an arbitrary linguistic act functioning as “interface points between language as system and particular individuals directly,” (Ibid., 2006:134). The claim that names do not imply attributes leads Reimer (2006) to say that names denote but do not connote. To say, ‘She is Maria’, identifies an individual without predicating anything about her.

Parkinson (1985:43) provides reasons why names should be considered prototypical terms of address as follows:

First, everyone has a name, no exceptions. The name is given to a person by his parents at birth and as a general rule he can't, or doesn't care to do anything about changing it. Further, with very few exceptions, names are chosen from a rather limited and culturally preserved reservoir of possible names, words that everyone agrees can be names. Rarely is a name borrowed from another language or culture, and then not randomly ... Even more rarely is a name simply made up out of nonsense syllables. This means that no matter what name a person has, he is likely to encounter people throughout the course of his life who have it too.

The view that a name is rarely borrowed from another culture does not apply in former colonies such as South Africa where English names are commonly owned by black people. The hypothesis that everyone has name finds its support in Frajzyngier and Jirsa (2006) who state that the first name is the most direct means of address in the grammar system of languages second only to the second person singular pronoun. According to Schalkwyk (2000:168), names “are crucial to philosophers of language because they are the ‘pegs on

which to hang descriptions’, and for [language as] a philosophical tradition that has generally come to regard itself as the mere handservant of science, description has been regarded as the pre-eminent, if not the only, purpose of language itself’. In the same vein, Parkinson (1985:63) says:

A name is not something deserved, earned, or even that seems to fit; rather a person simply is his name like an orange is an orange or a rose is a rose. It may be because of a person’s close psychological identification with his name that it is not polite to use it ‘up’ or to non-intimates without somehow modifying it, thereby distancing oneself from that inner core of the person. This distancing process, whether by using the name of addressee’s child as in the teknonymic system, or by adding another term of address on the front of the name, allows participants in speech events to be comfortable with each other by maintaining – and marking – the appropriate relationship that should obtain.

Clearly, this school of thought sees names as labels or descriptive terms (DTs) that are given to people not by virtue of having done anything of value to a society. The labels are thus not earned or deserved, and they do not have to fit anybody.

In Egyptian Arabic, for example, “names are a limited set of arbitrary labels (‘a’, ‘b’, ‘c’ etc.) for identifying, referring to and addressing the people in one’s environment,” (Ibid., 1985:43). Hence, names have no semantic content, but instead, it happens by chance that a particular person is named ‘a’ and another also named ‘a’. More importantly, naming practices vary among social groups and across time. This variation implies that the reservoir of naming practices is continually but gradually changing, resulting in the loss of names on one end of the spectrum and gaining them on the other. Thus, a person’s name can imply something about his or her age, generation or social origin. In terms of the latter, a social event in the family, community, society or country would trigger the naming of a child born under those circumstances or during the occurrence of the event.

In most societies, there is a two-name structure of personal name. The first basic element of the personal name is a given name chosen after birth and the second one is a family name (Hanks, 2006). The family name or surname is automatically inherited by the child after birth, and indicates his or her parentage, family, or clan membership. Personal names identify human beings as individuals rather than by group or function. Naming focuses on how adults

address each other, how they address children, and how this is reversed (Wardhaugh, 1992). Both first names (FNs) and last names (LNs) are examples of nominal forms that designate the addressee as a specific individual (Martiny, 1996). In terms of this view, however, a distinction can be drawn between FN and LN. FN represents a clearer incursion into the personal preserve or territory of the addressee. However, both of them allow a personalised address to be made to the interlocutor.

Obeng (2001) in Anchimbe (2011) holds that in Sub-Saharan African and Asian societies, personal names are not mere labels indicating the person who is responsible for a child's birth. In these cultures, there exists a close identity between the name and the bearer of the name such that the name links to the name-givers overall experiences of life (Anchimbe, 2011). From this perspective, names go beyond being mere representations; they carry socio-pragmatic undertones. The name-giving process is founded on the name-givers' past experiences and aspirations for the new born child. In these societies, the random choice of names is not allowed because they (names) "have an impact on the destiny of their bearers, [and] evil spirits may be attracted to, or repelled by, certain names," (Ibid., 2011:1475). Thus, naming in such societies is laden with meaning. In these particular societies, names, whose meaning constrains its use, are taken from the common vocabulary. Mandende (2009:1) writes:

African societies use personal names as a means of conveying the cultural values and traditions of their daily experiences. Before people could read and write, personal names were used as a means of documenting important events, and they were part of the oral tradition, making them an integral part of every cultural system. Personal names are constructed from various word categories, and have differing syntax. Tshivenda personal names, for example, are constructed from word categories such as verbs, nouns, pronouns, a verb plus a pronoun and a noun plus an adjective.

In terms of this theory, the personal naming practice is a social activity and every name given to a person in Tshivenda culture at any given stage in life has a meaning and a morphological structure. It is therefore not uncommon to find in this meaning, a descriptive background which draws on certain conventions in Vhavenda society. Each Tshivenda personal name represents a compact history of how the Vhavenda perceive life and interact with the environment on a daily basis. Thus names reflect the Vhavendas' inner being and their views

about life, whether this life is political, religious, social, or economic. In this way, personal names talk to people. For example, Vhavenda use the imperative suffix *-ni* to communicate with people around them (Ibid., 2009). The name *Fhaṭuwani* (be wise/stay awake) is formed from the verb root *-fhaṭuw-* (wise/awake), the terminal suffix *-a* and an imperative suffix *-ni*.

Other cases of the referentiality of names can be seen in Togo, where, for instance, the names *Kazuhiko*, *Kofi* and *Koovi*, are possible names for a firstborn son, a child born on a Friday and a fifth daughter, respectively (Lehrer, 2006). Here, names can also follow the day of the week in which a child was born. In Japanese and Akan of Ghana, children can be named according to the order in which they were born. Changes in naming practices reflect the redefinition of the social reality within which names are given (Mashiri, 1999). In Shona, for instance, the namegiving practice reflects a number of trends: nuclearisation of the family, urbanisation and the rise of Christian humanism. There is, therefore, a link between address forms and society in naming children.

Names can function as generics or vocatives (Lehrer, 2006). In sentences such as ‘Hey, Mack, you forgot your card’, Mack is a generic name for any male stranger; in Mexico, ‘Maria’ is used as a vocative to address any female street peddler. Where a common noun denotes something (such as an invention) associated with the name, there can be a productive shift from a proper noun to a common noun. A case in point is when a good writer or an English-loving person is addressed as a Shakespeare. In Xitsonga a cruel person may be addressed as *Hodova*, taken after a character with the same qualities and attitudes in Thuketana (1969).

Naming can take the form of a nickname. Nicknaming is a subclass of personal names which is determined by three principles (Lehrer, 2006). The principle of one-to-one ensures that a nickname can be created out of a common vocabulary where the selection of the word is appropriate for the specific individual. Another nicknaming principle, referred to as many-many, is “a conventional relationship between names and nicknames,” (Ibid., 2006:142). The English name Elizabeth changes to Betty, Bess, Liz or Betha. In terms of functions, names are used to maintain and to mark relationships between people in the conversation (Martiny, 1996). People call each other by many different names, including nicknames. One individual may be addressed by his childhood *Msindhu* by his mother, by his colonial name ‘Johannes’ or LN by his teacher, by his nickname ‘Bomber’ by his friends and by his other nickname ‘Ace’ by his fans when playing soccer. Different names may also be used to address the same

individual by each of his many friends. In each case the addresser uses a particular name to the addressee to express the relationship between the two parties.

Naming can also be analysed from a sociopragmatic approach. A sociopragmatic approach is concerned with interrelating the ways in which address forms are employed in speech act realisations with a number of variables (Ibid., 1996). These variables, which indicate that forms of address can serve various purposes, are:

- (1) the relationship between the speaker and the addressee;
- (2) the presence of an audience or other people than the speaker and the addressee at the time and place of speaking;
- (3) the sex, age and the socio-economic background of the speaker;
- (4) the religious beliefs of the speaker;
- (5) the political or ideological views of the speaker;
- (6) the place of residence or origin of the speaker;
- (7) the degree of emotional solidarity prevailing between the speaker and the addressee; and
- (8) in the case of a familial situation, the existence of family ties between the speaker and the addressee.

It is proposed, for instance, that the presence of an audience may lead the interactants to switch to different patterns of address. Thus, a journalist and a politician who know each other well will not talk to each other the same way in private, and before a television camera. In the second case, their awareness of the presence of the unseen audience may lead to a shift to a more formal register, and “the selection of forms of address that reflect status inequality as well as distance on the axis of solidarity,” (Op. cit., 1996:771).

In the analysis of Xitsonga address forms, it may be helpful to pay attention to the application of pragmatic principles, in particular Grice’s conversational analysis (Leech, 1983). Such framework will unpack address tendencies in the broader Xitsonga culture as well as those applicable to Xitsonga speakers in the area in which the study is conducted.

In Egyptian Arabic, there is a three-way variation in which names can be used (Parkinson, 1985). A speaker can address a person by using his name alone. This variation reflects intimacy and/or lack of respect. Alternatively, a speaker can opt for the name with another term. In this case, the speaker indicates both acquaintance and respect. A third variation

involves the use of the term alone. The three-way variation of name usage in Egyptian Arabic is illustrated in figure 2.1 below:

Figure 2.1: Names alone, names with terms, and terms alone

		TERM ALONE	TERM + NAME	NAME ALONE
UP	unknown	X		
	nonintimate	X	X	
	intimate	X	X	
ACROSS	unknown	X		
	nonintimate	X	X	
	intimate	X	(X) (playful)	X
DOWN	unknown	X		
	nonintimates	X	X	X
	intimate	X	(X)	X

Source: Ibid. (1985: 50)

Figure 2.1 above indicates that totally unknown addressees are addressed almost entirely by the terms alone irrespective of whether the speaker is speaking up, across or down, and that well known addressees receive far more names alone than any others. Further, names alone are most common address forms in situations in which the speaker is speaking ‘across’ or ‘down’ and in which he is intimately acquainted with the addressee. It is also shown that speakers commonly use names with terms when he or she is speaking ‘up’ or ‘across’ to an addressee with whom he or she is acquainted but with whom he is not intimate. Names with terms are also used varyingly and playfully when the speaker is speaking down to a nonintimate addressee or across to an intimate one.

Further, when an address is used ‘across’, it involves addresses to friends, relatives, neighbours and colleagues, and ‘down’ usages include addresses by bosses to workers,

teachers to students and customers to waiters. On the contrary, addresses that are used ‘up’ are directed by workers to bosses, students to teachers and so on (Op.cit., 1985). It is apparent that whereas across usages occur in symmetrical relationships, down and up usages occur in asymmetrical relationships.

A study by Hwang (1991) compares address terms in American and Korean English. The study finds that American and Korean cultures are first-name and last-name oriented, respectively.

2.2.2 Titles

Titles (TTs) are “nominal forms that lay emphasis upon the relationship between the speaker and the addressee,” (Martiny, 1996:769). Titles differ from FN and LN in the sense that they lay emphasis not upon the addressee, but rather upon the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee, making them less personal than FN and LN. In fact, titles are expressions of respect (Dickey, 1997).

Khumalo (1992) holds that although it has become common amongst ‘educated’ blacks to use address titles such as *Mnumzane* (sir, gentleman) and *Nkosikazi* (lady, madam) together with the surname of the addressee, as in *Mnumzane Ndlazi* (Mr Ndlazi), *Nkosikazi Twala* (Mrs Twala), or *Nkosazana Zondi* (Miss Zondi), these address forms sound very strange in isiZulu. They are a clear influence of either the English or Afrikaans manner of address. The correct traditional Zulu address forms are seen as *Baba uNdlazi*, *MaTwala* or *Mama uTwala*, respectively.

In Setswana, titles include *Rra Pitso* (Mr Pitso), *Mme Tsebe* (Mrs Tsebe) and *Ngaka Setshedi* (Dr Setshedi) (Ngoasheng, 2006). More importantly, Setswana culture does not allow young people to address their seniors by their names without the use of titles.

The following quote illustrates that in Nguni culture, it is common knowledge to address elders by their titles rather than by their names. In the anecdote, Harper (2013) quotes a woman talking about a man who is described as her fellow congregants in a church in Durban, South Africa. She (the woman quoted by Harper), however, was born and brought up

in the Eastern Cape, also in South Africa. So while the man may be an isiZulu speaker, she is probably Xhosa-speaking. She says the following about the man:

“I know him from our church. He is not my mentor,” she said. “I call him Uncle Timmy because I was brought up not to address an elder person by their name. We are not that close at all,” (Ibid., 2013:10).

In Tshivenda, the title *vho-*, which is equivalent to the English Mr or Mrs, is used to address parents before a child is born (Mandende, 2009). This title, which does not denote gender and therefore is used to address people of either sex, is mostly affixed to the Christian name and/or the surname of the person being addressed. It is further argued that once a child is born, there is a switch to the use of teknonyms (TMs).

There is a new tendency to use previously widely used titles when addressing or talking about important figures such as cabinet ministers and members of parliament in Iranian society (Keshavarz, 1988). Male figures would be addressed as *aqā* (Mr) and the female ones as *xanom* (Mrs). Evidence of this shift is drawn from radio and television broadcasts. Such addresses would take the forms *aqā-ye* and *xanom-e* for respective male and female addresses or references, so that a male figure will be addressed or referred to by TLN as *aqay-e doktor fazel* (Mr Doctor Fazel). The “use of the sex marker /*xanom*/ instead of the new form /*xahær*/ with titles such as ‘doctor’ ... indicates more respect for women who enjoy high status in the society,” (Ibid., 1988:574).

The Turkish show politeness and respect to both family and non-family members through different titles (Awni, 2012). The following examples suffice:

<i>Tossun bey</i>	(said to a husband)	Mr. Tossun
<i>Hikmat hanem</i>	(said to a wife)	Lady Hikmat
<i>Bey boba</i>	(said to a father)	Mr. father

The elder brother and elder sister would be addressed as *agabe* and *abla*, respectively (Ibid., 2012). The following non-family members are addressed as follows: *chauffeur bey* (Mr. Chauffeur – said to a driver); *nadin hanım* (Lady Nadin – said to a maid); and *çöpçü* (said to a garbage collector).

It is clear that apart from names, titles can be used as forms of address. In fact, they are forms of respect.

2.2.3 Teknonyms

Alford (1988) in Mandende (2009:53) defines a teknonym as “a practice whereby parents at the birth of their child cease to be known by their former personal names and are known as “father of” (child’s name) and “mother of” (child’s name)”. This type of teknonym can thus generally be described as ‘parent of X’. The father and the mother may assume the teknonym or name of the child once a child is introduced to other members of the family, and a name has been bestowed on him or her.

The ‘parent of X’ teknonyms are used as means of showing respect to the parents or grandparents of the child (Mandende, 2009). In fact, it is regarded as disrespectful for a person to address his or her superior, in particular parents or grandparents, by their first name in African culture. The use of the child’s name is most appropriate in this situation. It is noted that the teknonym system is also practised in many African traditions such as the Zulu culture (Koopman, 1986 in Ibid., 2009). In this culture, they use the eldest child’s name in case of a boy, but may use the second child’s name in case the eldest is a girl and the second a boy. Frequently, if the eldest is a girl and the second child is a boy, the husband will address his wife as *mama ka* (mother of) and the man addressed as *baba ka* (father of) (Mandende, 2009).

According to Khapoya (2013), once a child is born in the matrimonial relationship, the mother-in-law may switch from addressing her son’s wife by whatever address form of her choice to the teknonym. The switch to teknonyms as address systems in African societies indicates three important things:

- (1) the high regard with which children are held in marriage in African societies;
- (2) that marriage is a marker of the survival of the community; and
- (3) that the production of children is a very important contribution that an individual should make to his society.

Sex-based distinction and age are biological and universal attributes of individuals which may also be culturally elaborated in all societies (Foley, 1997). Age, like kinship links, is the basic building block of social structure in age-set societies as well as an important variable in determining correct linguistic usage. An example of the role of the age factor in determining

linguistic choice is the asymmetrical high-low speech levels in a conversation between a young high-caste person and an old low-caste person in Balinese culture in New Guinea (Ibid., 1997). Here, the younger person usually addresses the older one in low speech level, but with teknonyms such as ‘father or grandfather of X’. In this society, given first names are considered normal usage in the low level.

In the conversation below, Ida Bagus, a high caste, uses low level speech, and Pekak Putu, a low caste, opts for high level speech (Op. cit., 1997:327):

Ida Bagus: *Pekak Putu lakar mas kija* (low level)
 (high caste) Grandfather Putu will go there
 Where are you (Grandfather of Putu) going?

Pekak Putu: *tiang jagi lunga ka pasar* (high level)
 (low caste) I will go to market
 I’m going to the market.

The New Guinea evidence further supports the claim that age and sex are important variables in most societies in the choice of forms of address such as teknonyms.

2.3 LITERATURE ON THE KINSHIP SYSTEM AS A FORM OF ADDRESS

It may be assumed that all speakers in all societies, as a matter of fact, now and then address their relatives: parents, children, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, in-laws and other distant relatives. Kinship as a type of address lies at the heart of this kind of thinking.

Kinship is brought about by birth or marriage either of which binds individuals in a kinship relationship (Cheal, 2008; Khapoya, 2013). Thus kinship is the main organiser of social relationships. A kinship relationship that binds individuals through birth, blood or ancestry is called consanguine relationship, and one that is based on marriage or generations is known as affilial relationship. Consanguine relationships can be determined in two main ways: patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Patrilineal descent refers to one traced through one’s father and other male ancestors; and matrilineal descent is traced through female relatives on the

person's mother's side (Yamane and Nonoyama, 1967). Both types of descent are traced through one side only, namely either the father's or mother's (Cheal, 2008). According to Khapoya (2013), the vast majority of African societies follow patrilineal descent.

Kinship is "the main basis around which social relationships are organised," (Cheal, 2008:117) and the main basis for providing people with a network of plurality of relationships. It is this network of social relationships created by consanguine relationships that forms the basis of address usage. How a person addresses another in the network of relationships is informed by these networks, that is, where a person fits in the scheme of things. Over time, due perhaps to the advent of education and other social factors, the relative importance of kinship may decline, resulting in changes in the choice of terms of address.

Kinship can also be established through marriage, which can either be polygamous or monogamous. Polygamy takes two forms: polygyny, in which a man has two or more wives, or polyandry, in which case a woman has two or more husbands (Smith, 1973; Khapoya, 2013). The former is practised in African societies while the latter is practised in Asian countries.

Kinship terms or family terms include "all those terms whose referential or 'dictionary' meanings refer to a relative of speaker, regardless of whether or not in any one instance the term is actually being used to a relative of speaker," (Parkinson, 1985:65). More specifically, kinship refers to the way in which social groups define relationships using marriage, descent and parenting as a point of departure (Cheal, 2008). Seen from this perspective, kinship is a social rather than a biological relationship. Children who are adopted and raised as the parents' own children, for instance, may not have biological relationships with the new family members if they have no genetic relationship with them, but immediately become kin on the eve of their adoption.

According to Foley (1997), kinship relationship is the biological attribute of individuals that is universal and which is culturally elaborated in all societies, including those that display the simplest social organisation. In terms of this view, kinship links and age ranks as the basic building blocks of social structure in age-set societies. They are, therefore, important variables in determining appropriate linguistic (address) usage.

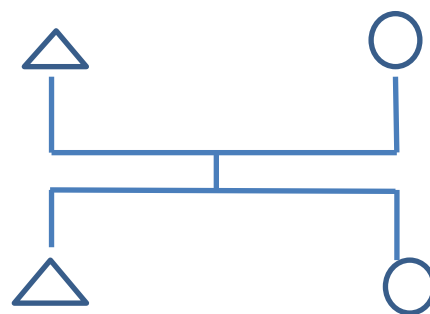
The genesis of kinship is within the nuclear family. The primary kinship relationships are the basis of all kinship relationships; the wider kinship relations in a society are derived from

these primary kinship relationships through a process of extension (Smith, 1973). A nuclear family can be described as follows:






In the kinship system as a social category, the nuclear family is a system which consists of the *closest kinsmen* both consanguineously and affinally, husband-father, wife-mother, and their children. This kinship group of husband, wife, and children is also the smallest group in the kinship system. Hence, it is safe to say that the kinship organization is the consanguineous and affinal association of a number of nuclear families. Thus, the nuclear family is at once the smallest kinship group and the smallest unit of the larger kinship organization. Accordingly, the nuclear family is also *the nuclear unit of kinship* (Yamane and Nonoyama, 1967:783).

This view looks at the nuclear family as a cultural universal where the “developing child learns to respond in particular ways towards his father, his mother, his brothers and sisters, and to expect certain kinds of behavior in return,” (Foley, 1997:131). Thus parents, spouses, children and siblings are the universal categories of the nuclear family. These categories can thus be seen as the units of analysis of kinship systems. A nuclear family can be illustrated by means of a diagram (see Figure 2.2):

Figure 2.2: A nuclear family

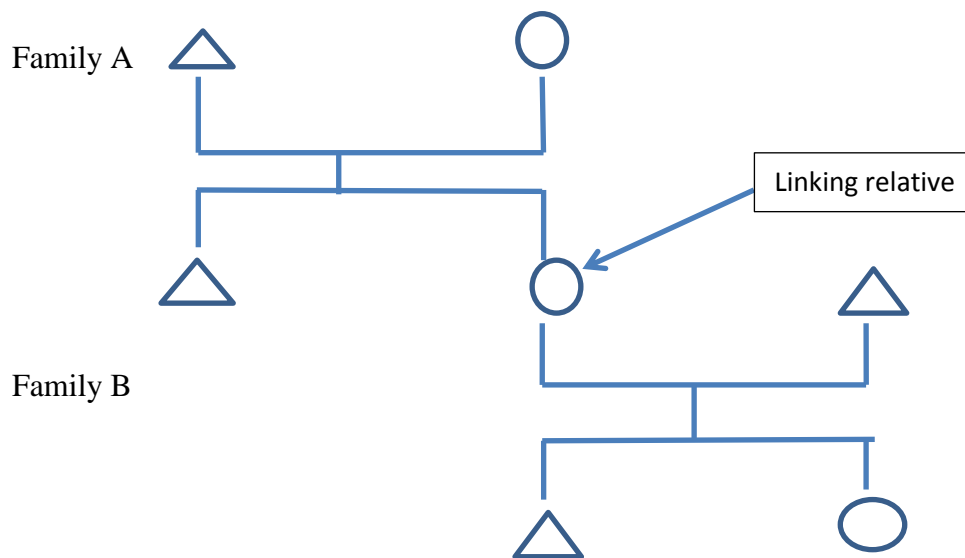


Source: Ibid. (1997: 132)

In the diagram of the nuclear family above, the shape  represents a male person, and  indicates a female person;  indicates a marriage bond;  a descent parent-child relationship;  and stands for a sibling relationship. Kinship relations, however, become

complex when they are extended via a linking relative. It is also possible to illustrate linkage between two nuclear family units that are knitted together into a larger group via a linking relative (see Figure 2.3 below):

Figure 2.3: Two nuclear families linked by a female relative



Source: Adapted from Op.cit. (1997)

Figure 2.3 shows two family units linked by a female relative who may be a daughter or a sister in one family, and a mother or a wife in family B. In this case, the relative has brought the relationship between the two family units on account of marriage or affilial relationship (Khapoya, 2013). In a nuclear family, “the ties that bind its members are stronger than those which bind any one member to the outside,” (Stone, 1977 in Ziehl, 2002:27). The kinship terms expressing the nuclear family are “the universal salient foci of any kinship system as well as its fundamental building blocks,” (Foley, 1997:132). These universals are the outcome of the universal human experiences of the processes of socialisation. Within this framework, emphasis is placed on the role of cultural mediation rather than biological notions in the construction of meaning in the kinship system. One reason for this is that a nuclear family is an exclusive unit: its membership is reserved to the married partners and their dependent children (Barlett, 1984). Foley (1997:133) argues:

It is really the relationship between the mother and child that defines the nuclear family. This is really the fundamental unit for the genealogical reckoning of kinship. The father, then, is simply the marriage partner of the mother at the onset of her pregnancy who is responsible for the personhood of the child within the society, with the consequent duties toward it and the rights over it.

The argument that emerges from the notion of the nuclear family is that kinship systems are organised in terms of cultural mediation, and not biological constraints. So, while it is apparent that the mother is the person who bears the child, the concept of father, i.e. the person who provides the wherewithal for the event of birth, is problematic.

The complication about kinship system lies in the limiting factor of blood or marriage indicating that kinship is a social rather than a genetic construct. Gottlieb (1993:185) avers that:

Kinship is a social convention. Like adulthood, it is partly biological, but the biology is filtered through value systems and social change. The 'blood' aspect of kinship is not a simple matter of common genetic heritage; it also involves legitimation and exclusion.

There is blood kinship on the one hand, and marriage kinship on the other. Blood kinship is based on the principle of a person born into it. Marriage also creates kinship in the sense that it creates in-law kinship. Marriage is thus completely not a biological convention but a social one. Clearly, this depiction of kinship, as Parkinson (1985) and Khapoya (2013) argue, is a socially generated activity which finds its expression in the address system. In some communities, it is not difficult to observe tendencies by people to see themselves primarily as the blood kin of the father's side and only temporarily allied with the other side. It may thus be argued that kinship terms will also be more strongly expressed towards the more favoured side.

The recognition of the bond between mother and child as the "basic atom" of kinship systems implies that 'father' is only the marriage partner whose role is being "the social person maker," (Foley, 1997:134). In support of this hypothesis, a number of ethnographic descriptions are cited suggesting that the genitor is not the primary designation of the fatherhood in many languages. There is also the evidence of thousands of paternity blood

tests all over the world. Another example can be found in Nayar, southern India. Here, a young woman is required to undergo a ceremony which forms a permanent union with a young man, who, after a few days, leaves her having had or not sexual relations with her (Ibid., 1997). It is after this ceremony that the girl may now enter into liaisons with other men from which even children may be born. Strange as it may sound, the infant born out of any liaison that she may enter into does not refer to its genitor by the concept of father *appan*. It is the young man with whom she formed the permanent union during the premenstrual ceremony that the child will address and refer to by the term *appan* (father). A strong interpretation of these data points out the role of culture in the construction of meaning of kinship terms. As this case demonstrates, the term for father does not necessarily include the genitor of the child. Kinship, therefore, depends on the perception of who is known and who matters (Gottlieb, 1993).

In addition, kinship tends to go with wealth and power, resulting in a correlation between the size of the household. Thus, poorer people have smaller households and narrower kinships (Ibid., 1993). Consequently, they have little reservoir of people to address. The narrower the kinship, the narrower the terms of address, and the narrower the differential use of address system.

In all speech communities, the rules for addressing and or referring to relatives are varied. In Egyptian Arabic, for example, the relative kinship term for 'father' is *waldi* (my father) and is used in a non-intimate encounter with a third party, and the term *baaba* (papa) is used within the family and to intimate friends (Parkinson, 1985). Besides *waldi* and *baaba*, there are five other terms for 'father' in Egyptian Arabic. These terms can be ranked to form a socio-linguistic continuum, as illustrated in figure 2.4 below:

Figure 2.4: Terms of address for ‘father’ in Egyptian Arabic

Term	Social class association
<i>daadi</i>	extremely upper class
<i>paapi</i>	extremely upper class
<i>ḥaabi</i>	upper class
<i>ḥaaba</i>	middle class
<i>aaḥa</i>	working class
<i>abuuya</i>	working class

Source: Ibid. (1985: 66)

In terms of the choice among the terms for ‘father’ as indicated in Figure 2.4 above, the data indicate that the terms *aaḥa* and *abuuya* are used by working class addressers to address their own fathers, while the term *ḥaaba* is used by middle class individuals. The latter is a term of endearment which expresses a kind of *madaniyya* (refinement) (Op. cit., 1985). The study further finds that the term *ḥaabi* is used by upper class people.

The post Islamic Revolution, which saw the fall of the monarch in Iranian society, resulted in the emergence of two new solidarity forms of address similar to that of *comrade* in Russia and China post socio-political changes in those countries (Keshavarz, 1988). Although the terms *bæradær* (brother) and *xahær* (sister) were already in the Persian lexicon as kin or familial terms, it is said that they became widely used as new reciprocal forms of address in the society only after the fall of the monarch. The increasing usage of the two solidarity forms in the pronominal system of Persian address found its inspiration in the egalitarian motive of the revolution and the equality nature of the Islamic ideology in all respects, including race, colour, sex or socio-economic status. These two kinship terms, claim Keshavarz, are now used in the daily speech of all social groups, including official correspondence.

The kinship terms *bæradær* (brother) and *xahær* (sister) do not express intimacy but solidarity. This can be expressed as follows:

The terms *bæradær* (brother) and *xahær* (sister) are taken as neutral forms of address, particularly when they are used to address strangers, where the name of the addressee is not known to the speaker. Thus, the semantics of *bæradær* and *xahær* emphasizes solidarity and not necessarily intimacy. These reciprocal forms are not only used between dyads of the same age and rank, but also between superiors and inferiors to the extent that a layperson may refer to the prime minister or even the president of the country as *bæradær* (Ibid., 1988:569)

The social orientation of the two terms to be used between superiors and inferiors explains why they can also be used in both formal and informal contexts. The fact that Iran has traditionally been a male-dominated society has led to *bæradær* having a greater frequency of occurrence than *xahær*.

Women are treated with more respect and distance in Iran. So, instead of *xahær*, “the female marker /*xanom*/ ‘Mrs.’ is used with titles such as ‘Doctor’,” (Op. cit., 1988:572). It is held that the less frequent use of this solidarity form of address is a reflection of the time-honoured distance in interaction with women in Iranian culture. The argument is that the use of titles with the words *bæradær* and *xahær* emanated from calls from high-ranking officials and religious figures to emphasise the importance of advanced education and expertise in the Iranian society.

On a similar note, Qin (2008:416) finds that in Chinese, the kinship terms *xiongdi* (younger brother) and *Dage* (older brother) are general terms used to address non-family members such as colleagues and strangers. In addition, four general terms of address are used depending on the speaker’s native place: *comrade*, *master*, *younger brother* and *older brother*. The choice of the term of address is influenced by the speaker’s motivation to apologise, to borrow something or to shorten the distance between people and build up a relationship. One of the objectives of the present study is to discover the underlying factors accounting for the generic address system in Xitsonga.

In Setswana, when kinship terms are used in discourse, they show respect, affection and honour. Ngoasheng (2006:69) argues as follows:

It is unacceptable and uncultured to call the elderly people by their names irrespective of whether one is the speaker's blood relative or not. Kinship terms such as *rre* (father), *mme* (mother), *nkoko* (granny), *rramogolo* (grandfather), *rrangwane* and *rramogolo* (both refer to 'uncle' in English) *rakgadi*, *mmangwane*, *mogatsa malume* (all refer to 'aunt' in English) are used in Setswana and other African languages when addressing the elders to show that the speaker is positively polite, i.e. having good manners and behaving in a manner which is approved by the speaker's culture.

Mashiri (1999) introduces the concept of semantic extensions to refer to situations where kinship terms with already established meanings acquire new senses when they are used in Shona. Used in this way, the words are considered as having both central and extended references. In this culture, for example, children address older people by the term *Sekuru* (uncle/grandfather) rather than by their first names.

This sentiment is equally expressed by Khumalo (1992:347), who observes that the isiZulu address forms, *uBaba* (dad) and *uMama* (mother), are kinship terms that have "semantically and syntactically, become names with a definite mark of seniority and respect". From this perspective, Khumalo argues, it is polite to refer to any adult male person as *Baba*, or to any adult female person, including pastors, indunas, headmasters, councillors and their spouses, as *Mama* or *Baba*, depending on the gender of the addressee.

Yang (2007) cites evidence showing that in Chaoshan, Southern China, the relations between the older and the younger, the senior and the junior, are very important, contributing to a very complicated kinship term system. The dominating status of men inside the family is reflected in the clear distinction made between relatives on father's side and those on mother's side. The male relatives on father's side, for instance, are *bó fù*, *shü fù* and *gu fù*, and those on mother's side are *jiù jiu* and *yi fù*. These kinship terms are equal to 'uncle' in English (Ibid., 2007). As already noted, the influence of relatives in the address system on both the father's and the mother's sides constitute an area for further probing in the present research.

As powerful evidence of a tradition that places women in the same subordinate position as children, thereby stripping them of adult status, women of Chaoshan are required to use the same address forms as their children (Op.cit., 2007). However, it is held that there appears to be an indication of a change in progress in which this tradition is being discarded by some

young women in Chaoshan. Three factors account for this change: education, the professionalisation of women and the development of an equalitarian ideology. Consequently, rather than the internal structure of a language, through such processes as assimilation and simplification, language change is triggered by social factors in a specific historical time. Keshavarz's (1988) and Yang's (2007) studies are useful for two reasons. First, they are a pointer for probing the status of women in the Xitsonga address system in the face of the apparent dominating status of men in societies. More specifically, these studies point out the necessity of examining the role of education, professionalisation and the creation of an equalitarian society, among others, in address behaviour.

2.4 LITERATURE ON THE PRONOMINAL AND THE HONORIFIC SYSTEMS AS FORMS OF ADDRESS

This section explores literature on the pronominal and honorific systems. Honorifics may be used singly or in combination with the second person pronoun, hence the decision to discuss these independent but related forms of address under the same heading.

2.4.1 Literature on the pronominal system

Pronoun is a grammatical classification of words to refer to "a closed set of lexical items that ... can substitute for a noun or a noun phrase," (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990:9). Pronouns function most often like nouns (Kubayi, 2013). The process followed in substituting nouns by pronouns is known as pronominalisation. The notion of 'closed set' implies that only a small, definite repertoire of pronoun forms is found in each human language, although the sets differ in complexity and range of discrimination. Some languages have a handful of pronouns, and others have as many as 200 (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990). Furthermore, it is argued that the grammar of the verbal items used to create a context of communication includes knowledge of the social and psychological conventions of the culture of the people that use that grammar. Thus, in order to use pronouns grammatically and correctly, it is important to deploy the speaker's philosophical theories of what he is as well as his knowledge of the social relations in which he stands to those with whom he is engaged in the conversation.

Many languages have a second-person pronoun distinction corresponding to the French *tu-vous* (T/V) distinction, where the grammatically *tu* (T) is an informal singular second person ‘you’ and *vous* (V) the formal second person plural ‘you’ (Eastman, 1991; Wardhaugh, 1992). The T form is the ‘familiar’ form and is regarded as “the most direct means of address existing within the grammatical system of a language,” (Frajzyngier and Jirsa, 2006:523). Thus, the T represents any pronoun of condescension or intimacy. The V form is the ‘polite’ form and thus stands for any pronoun of respect, deference or formality (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990). Brown and Gilman (1968) underpin their formal analysis of the second personal pronominal system on an idea of two axes of difference, namely solidarity semantics and status or power semantics. Thus, the second person pronoun is a marker of personal deixis because in its use, the speaker orientates his utterance with respect to his interlocutor (Finegan, 2004).

With respect to the solidarity semantics, a distinction is made between the attitudes of people who feel that they are members of a corporate body, a solidary, and of those who are either strangers to one another or who are socially distant as evidenced by a student body or a regiment of common soldiers (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990). One rule for the solidarity semantics is that members should address one another as T, while status equals who are socially distant use V to address one another. Secondly, that the superior A is expected to address B, his inferior, as T while receiving V from B.

There are a number of words by which T and V distinctions are realised in different European languages (Ibid., 1990). These are illustrated in figure 2.5 below:

Figure 2.5: The realisation of T and V in different European languages

Language	singular	plural
French		
T	tu	vous
V	vous	vous
Spanish		
T	tu	vosotros
V	Usted	Ustedes
Italian		
T	tu	voi
V	Lei	Loro
German		
T	du	ihr
V	Sie	Sie

Brown and Gilman's (1968) structure of T/V semantics can be summarised in two principles, namely that of symmetry – reciprocal uses of T and V – and that of asymmetry – the giving or receiving of V or T when the person has been the recipient of T or V (Op.cit., 1990). According to Yang (2007), a person with power over another in the degree that he or she is able to control the behaviour of the other may give T and receive V. Physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalised role in the church, the state, or within the family, are some of the bases of power. This perspective sees solidarity as reciprocal, implying intimacy and 'shared fate' so that interlocutors who are close or intimate to each other will mutually exchange T or V.

Not all intimate groups are solidarities, however. A case in point is a nuclear family; child-parent relationship is usually a status relation and therefore asymmetrical. The T and V are related to the unity between the *what* and the *how* as Wardhaugh (1992:258) argues:

When we speak, we must constantly make choices of many different kinds: what we want to say, how we want to say it, and the specific sentence types, words, and sounds that best unite *what* with the *how*. How we say something is at least as important as what we say; in fact, the content and the form are quite inseparable, being but two facets of the same object.

The ‘politeness’ with which speakers use language is a manifestation of the consciousness that they have of social customs; politeness is socially prescribed and thus depends on the existence of standards, norms, or rules, of politeness (Wardhaugh, 1992). A case in point is the Indonesian language of Javanese. Here, in almost everything that a speaker says, he needs to indicate the social relationships between himself and the listener in terms of status and familiarity. In terms of this view, the importance of the principle of politeness resides in the knowledge that there is a need to consider the feelings of other people.

Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:135) state that it is possible to express the grammatical facts that are drawn out of the Brown and Gilman’s scheme of power and solidarity as follows: “There is an asymmetrical pattern of use in which A gives *tu* to B who returns *vous* to A. And there is a symmetrical pattern in which A and B address each other either as *tu* or as *vous*”.

In Turkish, the pronominal distinction for politeness can be illustrated as follows: *siz hocamisiniz?* (you teacher(s)? and *sen hocamisin?* (you teacher?) (Awni, 2012). While the latter is singular, the former can be used to address either a singular person or more than one person.

The distinction between the reciprocal pronoun and the non-reciprocal is central to the notion of politeness. The choice between the two pronominal forms can be seen at two levels. On one level, it is a function of the number of people being addressed – singular or plural. On another level, it encodes sociolinguistic dimensions of power relations, social status and age, among others. Hence, the rules for deciding the appropriate form in given situations are complex: they require that the participants must have some knowledge about each other’s social status (O’Grady et al., 1996). The decision is thus a sociolinguistic choice depending on complicated socio-pragmatico-linguistic factors in the dyadic encounter (Eastman, 1991). Consequently, switches in pronominal use are good gauges of social relations. One of the goals of this study is to go beyond the surface level, i.e the one based on number of

addressees to the complex rule-based, value-laden, culture-based power relations underlying the choice of pronominal forms in given situations in Xitsonga.

Persian in Iran has two pronouns for the second person singular, namely *to* and *šoma/shoma* (Keshavarz, 1988). There are a number of settings in which *to* is used. When used to express solidarity and intimacy, *to* is used in very intimate relationship between close friends and colleagues, peers, classmates and spouses. In other words, it has a singular use (Samavarchi et al., 2010). It can also be used downwards in familial contexts by parents in address to their children until the age of fifteen or puberty by which time the polite form *šoma* is adopted. It is observed, however, that the use of *to* to address children varies according to parents' attitudes and educational background. Although this is shunned and viewed as ridiculous by lower social groups, it is claimed that some educated middle-class parents address their children from infancy by the polite form *šoma*, which has both a singular and a plural use (Ibid., 2010). Elder siblings too use *to* non-reciprocally when talking to their younger brothers and sisters (Keshavarz, 1988).

Thirdly, before the Islam Revolution, superiors such as government officials and army officers used the non-reciprocal *to* to their subordinates (Ibid., 1988). This included interactions by masters to their servants. The use of the pronominal form in this way has, however, been discontinued since the overthrow of the monarch. Hence, governments of the day can play a role in address usage, bringing into the picture political dynamics in address behaviour. The second person singular pronoun is also used in emotionally charged contexts in an insulting manner.

Keshavarz (2001:9) finds that “the total percentage of the use of *to* and *šoma* shows that in interaction with older kin such as father, mother, grandfather, and the like *šoma* is used more often even in informal familiar contexts”. It is therefore concluded that age is a determining factor in the use of the two pronouns in addressing kins. However, in addressing maternal uncles, it is found that there is a high frequency of the use of *šoma* in the Persian address system, pointing social distance and intimacy as some of the determinants of the Persian address system. Further, it is found that “as the formality of the context increases the frequency of the use of *to* decreases. The data in fact indicate that “in formal situations *sex* is a stronger determiner in the use of forms of address in Persian,” (Ibid., 2001:14).

In Shona, Zimbabwe, there are two second person pronominal forms, *iwe* (singular you) and *imi/imwi* (plural you) (Mashiri, 1999). The plural address form *imi/imwi* is used by children

to address their parents, members of the kinship group and community of adjacent generations with their parents. It is contended that parents have the freedom to shift from the plural pronoun to the singular depending on the mood of relations to the children. For instance, they will normally return the plural forms to their married children. The reciprocal plural form is also exchanged between potential relatives irrespective of their ages. A central example of this is between a man and the consanguines of his fiancée. In addition, *imi/imwi* is used to address strangers until some appropriate group membership is established.

The two pronominal forms in Shona, together with the subject concords with which they are used, are indicated in the figure below (see Figure 2.6 below):

Figure 2.6: The second person pronoun in Shona

Pronoun	Person / Class	Subject concord
<i>Iwe</i>	2 nd person singular	<i>u-</i> (present/future, <i>wa-</i> (past tense)
<i>Imi/imwi</i>	2 nd person honorific	<i>mu-</i> (present/future), <i>ma-</i> (past tense)

Adopted from Ibid. (1999:107)

Two factors that determine nonreciprocity in Shona can be identified, namely age and role relationships (Op.cit., 1999). While age is considered very important, it may be cancelled by role relationship, in, for example, the cultural practice of addressing uncles or aunts through the non-reciprocal second person plural pronoun, which is also referred to as an honorific, irrespective of their ages. The phenomenon of cancelling age as a determiner of nonreciprocity is known as address inversion, and can be defined thus:

The reciprocation of a senior kinship term or a superior status term to the junior/inferior of the dyad It is restricted rather with regard to its contexts: in most of the languages concerned, address inversion is used for expressing affection and authority, especially in talking to children (Braun, 1988 in Hwang, 1991:118).

So far, it appears that the norm is that languages have a two-structure second person pronoun. This, however, is not always the case. Some languages have more than two forms of the second person pronominal. Evidence in support is well-established: Hindi (Misra, 1977), Korean (Hwang, 1991) and Egyptian Arabic (EA) (Parkinson, 1985).

Hindi of the Varanasi region in Uttar Pradesh, India, has a three-structure second person pronominal system, namely the singular *tu:* (you 1) used in the case of a single addressee to express intimacy, vulgar when used in a derogatory way, and can be used in prayer and in speech to animals; *tum* (you 2) used to express familiarity; and *aap* (you 3) which is formally plural and used to express respect in addressing a single person (Misra, 1977; Davison, 1999). In addressing more than one person, an additional lexical item *log* (people), is used after these pronominal forms. It is, however, not possible to add *log* to the singular *tu:* (you 1) to make it plural. According to Samavarchi et al. (2010), *tu:* has a strictly singular use whereas both *tum* and *aap* can be used both in the singular and in the plural.

The following figure illustrates that the pronouns *tu:*, *tum* and *aap* are all singular, i.e they are used to address a single person. The figure also indicates that with the latter two, it is possible to add *log* to make the pronouns plural (see Figure 2.7). It is further shown that all the three pronominal forms are nominative.

Figure 2.7: Forms of the pronouns of address in Hindi spoken in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, India

Nominative	tu:	tum	aap	<i>singular</i>
	Ø	tumlog	aaplog	<i>plural</i>

Source: Misra (1977:2)

From the study of the pronominal choice in Hindi, two important conclusions that can be drawn are as follows:

The pronominal usage in Hindi on the one hand tells us about the interpersonal relationships among people in their families and in the society, which are more or less static; on the other hand it tells us about the mutual recognition of the status and relationships on meeting, breaking off relations, renewal or relations and change of relations. This society discriminations underlying pronominal usage are geared more to ‘social behaviour’, social statuses and emotional contexts than to basic cultural themes (Ibid., 1977:2).

Besides expressing singularity and plurality, the three Hindi pronouns can show different degrees of politeness where *tu* shows impoliteness, *tum* mid-politeness and *aap* is the most impolite pronoun (Samavarchi et al., 2010).

Hwang’s (1991:119) research reveals differences in the “functional load” between pronouns and nouns in address design in American and Korean cultures. The study finds that American English uses ‘you’ to any interlocutor regardless of social relationships between them. Thus, the pronoun has a larger functional load; it is syntactically a bound form, an integrated part of the sentence. Viewed in this sense, ‘you’ is deictic, and sensitive to extralinguistic situations. The following English example illustrates this:

‘Did **you** read the book, John?’

The pronoun ‘you’ is bound and integrated within the sentence above. The name ‘John’, however, is a ‘free form’ of address functioning as a vocative. By contrast, the Korean address system shows a much smaller functional load, limited mostly to addressing children. Unlike English, Korean has more than one second person singular pronominal form. First, there is *nŏ* (you), which is used between peers and younger people, *tangsŏn* (you), which is the polite form, and *jane* (you), which older people use to address younger people. Further, in contrast with English, the Korean terms of address are frequently omitted when they are integrated parts of the sentence. For example:

(Kim sŏnsang-ninm-un) ku jhak-ul ilku-si- ŏss- umnikka?

Did (you=Mr. Kim) read the book?

(N ŏ -nun) ku jhak ilk-n- ŏni?

Did (you=a child or a friend) read the book?

In both sentences above, the address forms in parentheses are omitted in Korean. This can be expressed in this way:

Since the addressee is assumed to be the subject of the sentence, reference to him may be omitted as shared information. This may be called “zero deixis”, similar to zero anaphora but the zero referring not anaphorically to the previously-mentioned participant but deictically to the participant in the speech situation (Ibid., 1991:120).

In addition to Hindi, Egyptian Arabic (EA) has three forms of subject second person pronouns, namely ‘*inta* (‘you’ masculine singular), *inti* (‘you’ feminine singular) and *intu* (‘you’ plural) (Parkinson, 1985; Awni, 2012). The masculine singular form is used with masculine singular addressee, the feminine singular form with feminine singular addressee, and the plural form is used to a group of more than one addressee. The singular forms ‘*inta* (masculine) and *inti* (feminine) mark an intimate relationship between the participants where the rules of formality are ignored. The plural form *intu* (you) is used to address a singular addressee on rare and extremely formal occasions, where the person spoken to is a very high addressee on the level of a president or a king. In this case, the pronoun marks that the addressee is in higher hierarchal position than the addresser. A case in point would be an addresser president of a university to the president of the country.

There are other forms of address in EA which are referred to as “the sisters of ‘*inta*” (Parkinson, 1985: 17). The sisterhood of these forms in the pronominal address system lies in the sense that they constitute the middle ground category between “real” terms of address and the second person pronoun forms. One such pronominal form is *fadiltak* (your excellency). This form is used exclusively by speakers to address high class Muslim sheikhs whereas the forms *udsak* (your holiness) and *niyaftak* (your excellency) are used to address Christian leaders, specifically, popes and bishops, respectively (Awni, 2012). The study finds that all the variables related to the addressee – sex, social class and age – play a significant role in the usage of the address forms *siyadtak* and *hadritak*. The higher the social class of addressee, the more likely he is to receive the terms, with upper class addressees receiving them over twice as often as middle class addressees. *Hadritak* can take three forms, and these forms are better illustrated syntactically, as follows (Ibid., 2012):

Hadritak mudarris? (singular, masculine polite)

You (mas.) teacher?

Hadritik mudarrisa? (singular, feminine polite)

You (fem.) teacher?

Hadritiku mudarrisiin? (plural polite)

You (pl.) teacher?

The results of the analysis of the sisters of ‘*inta*, *siyadtak* (your dominance) and *hadritak* (your presence) become more likely under the following conditions (Parkinson, 1985):

- (1) the higher the social class of addressee
- (2) if addressee is only slightly known or unknown
- (3) if tone is normal
- (4) the older the addressee
- (5) if speaker is middle aged
- (6) if speaker is speaking up, or at least across
- (7) the higher the social class of speaker
- (8) if addressee is male, and
- (9) if speaker is male.

The sisterhood of the masculine singular pronoun *inta* demonstrates Egyptian Arabic as a religious society along Islam and Christianity. Such religious division of the society is

manifested linguistically through the address system. South Africa has 73.52% Christian adherents, 15% African traditional believers and other religions such as Islam, Judaism and Hinduism in (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_South_Africa). Christianity is divided between various denominations such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the Catholic Church, the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) and many others. It is not clear if Christianity, as the dominant religion in South Africa, has any bearing on the address of the South African linguistic landscape.

2.4.2 Literature on honorifics as forms of address

The term ‘honorifics’ refers to “special linguistic forms that are used to signify deference towards the nominal referent or addressee,” (Shibatani, 2006:381). Honorifics can also be described as grammatical units, a special class of words or grammatical morphemes “whose sole function is to indicate social deixis among the interlocutors or the referent of some participant in the utterance,” (Foley, 1997:319).

This concept deixis is described as follows: “[t]he word *deixis* comes from the Greek adjective *deiktikos* meaning ‘pointing, indicative.’ **Deixis** is the marking of the orientation or position of entities and events with respect to certain *points of reference*” (Finegan, 2004: 201) and reflects facts about the social relationship between the addresser and the addressee. It refers to the social roles that individuals play in a speech event (Keshavarz, 2001).

The social deictic nature of honorification indicates that honorifics are an integral part of the politeness dimension of language use. It indicates that honorifics should not be studied as only grammatical forms but also from wider pragmatic and sociolinguistic perspectives (Shibatani, 2006). Such an approach examines the actual use of honorifics in speech situations, and takes into account the elements of conversational situations: the relationships between the participants in a conversation and the functional roles that honorification plays in communicative interaction. Speech situations consist of elements such as who uses the honorifics, to whom and for what functions.

Different honorific forms are used according to the different types of participants (Ibid., 2006). For example, Japanese students would use the super-polite form: *Pen o okarisitemo*

yorosii desyoo ka (Is it all right if I humbly borrowed your pen) to address their professors. But they would use the middle-level polite form: *Pen o kasite itadaki masu ka* (Is it possible that you give the favour of lending me your pen?) when addressing classmates. However, American students would use the same expression, ‘May I borrow your pen?’ to diversified categories of people: professors, classmates, strangers and so on. Thus, the use of honorifics in Japanese categorises people so that professors are given distinct status. This is an indication that “the most elaborate honorific expression indexes the occasion in which the most relevant power superior is involved,” (Op.cit., 2006:390).

Having made the connection between honorifics and their status as social deictic expressions, it is helpful to explore honorifics as deictic constructions in much detail. Examples of languages with complex systems of social deixis in the form of honorifics are Asian languages such as Japanese, Korean, Tibetan, Javanese and Thai (Foley, 1997; Shibatani, 2006).

Two concurrent systems of honorifics are identified in Japanese. In the first case, the honorific system registers the relative status entitlements of addressee against the speaker (Foley, 1997). This type of honorific is known as subject honorific (Potts and Kawahara, 2004). It is said that this type of honorific signals the relative higher status of the participant in the speaker’s utterance in relation to the speaker himself, and is conspicuously absent in European languages although it is equivalent to the T/V and FN/TLN phenomenon in Brown and Gilman’s study of these languages.

It is claimed that Japanese speakers show deference to an addressee of higher status or with whom one has no claim to solidarity. This they do by making use of V-like pronoun forms and special verb forms suffixed with the polite suffix or particle *-mas* (Foley, 1997). The V-like forms are not constrained to just the second person as in European languages. Consider the following example:

Boku kare ni au yo
 I he DAT meet PRTCL.
 I’ll see him.

The sentence in the above example is equivalent to a T form because it asserts an equivalent solidarity relationship with the addressee. This is evidenced by the choice of the first person pronoun *boku* (I), which is in the T form. Interactions can also be observed where the

addressee can be thought of as a stranger or superior, and thus with whom solidarity cannot be claimed. In this case, the first person pronoun changes from the T form *boku* (I) to the V-form *watakushi* (I) and the verb takes the suffix *-mas*. It suffices to demonstrate this type of honorific with the following expression:

Watakushi kare ni ai-mas-u
 I he DAT meet-POLITE-NONPAST.
 I'll see him.

The second type of honorific in Japanese is known as referent or object honorifics (Potts and Kawahara, 2004). In this case, “deference is accorded by the speaker to the referent of a nominal participant in her utterance,” (Foley, 1997:319). The following sentence represents a neutral non-deferential form which can be used to either a solidary or an inferior addressee. There is no honorific marker in the sentence, indicating that Sakai and Suzuki are inferior to the speaker.

Sakai ga Suzuki no tame ni chinzu o kai-ta
 Sakai NOM Suzuki GEN sake DAT map ACC draw-PAST
 Sakai drew a map for Suzuki.

“Japan is a vertical society where relative status difference, even very small, counts as significant,” (Fukada and Asato, 2004:1996). Consequently, the culture-specific valuation procedure for the variables of power and distance in Japanese requires that when a situation involves an addressee of higher status, power and distance are assigned markedly high values. Thus, honorification in Japanese must be understood in terms of contrasts in group membership in the Japanese society (Shibatani, 2006). Such a society places a premium on the contrast between ingroup versus outgroup membership, resulting in the contrasting of members of a family with people outside the family. A distinction is made between those who belong to a social group and those who do not. The insiders are treated as an extension of oneself, at least, with respect to outsiders. This contrast is not without consequences in terms of honorific usage. Foley (1997:321) gives the following example:

When speaking about one's father within the family unit (ingroup), one may optionally use honorifics, reflecting his seniority in age and power/status and differential. However, when speaking about one's father to someone who is not a (extended) family member (outgroup), honorifics must not be used, but just general polite forms with *-mas* and probably humbling forms.

In the same vein, within a corporation, fellow workers would use honorifics when referring to the company president in conversations among themselves, i.e ingroup. The same, however, cannot be said when they are speaking to an outsider. Specifically, a secretary will respond to a colleague's inquiry with full honorifics. But she will omit them in answer to a call from an outsider; instead she will use simple polite *-mas* forms together with humbling forms.

One implication of the ingroup membership is that, within the ingroup, honorifics are used to signal differences of status and power, but this is considered improper in usage to an outsider. The requirement is that the whole ingroup is "presented as a unit of equals and probably humbled with respect to the addressee, who must be addressed minimally with the polite forms in *-mas*, reflecting his social distance and potential power," (Ibid., 1997:322). With regard to reference to outgroup membership, however, honorification, which again reflects social distance, is not a necessity.

Fukada and Asato (2004) present two important arguments in support of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory with respect to the use of honorifics in Japanese. In the first place, they make the point that face preservation figures in the use of honorifics because by omitting the use of honorifics, speakers run the risk of sounding presumptuous and rude and in effect threaten their addressees' face. Secondly, as in the case of a teacher-student interaction, honorifics can be used by a socially superior person to his or her subordinate or a person of lower status. Another example cited is the use of honorifics by a chief in a formal situation such as a ritual, who then switches to plain everyday language thereafter.

There are a number of basic characteristics in the formation of honorifics (Shibatani, 2006). The first is that honorific expressions have a tendency of avoiding direct attribution of an action to the respected person. One method of blurring an actor occurs in terms of oblique referencing i.e, the use of locational nouns and deictic expressions. Instead, the tendency is to avoid the second person pronominal *anata* (you) in favour of the form *o-taku* (HON-house) in Japanese. Another method of oblique referencing is shifting person. In Italian, for instance,

speakers would say: *Lei va?* (she go) meaning ‘you (honorific) go?’. Shifting number from the singular to the plural is another example of oblique referencing. A case in point is the use of the universal pluralisation of the polite pronominal forms. This is attested as follows:

Pluralization is simply a favorite way of defocusing the identity of an actor across languages. Of course, only those languages that make a singular-plural distinction can exploit this method of agent defocusing. Indeed, if a language has plural verb forms, they may also be utilized as a means of subject honorification, (Ibid., 2006:385).

Honorifics play an important role in the facilitation of communication in that they minimise conflict between the interactants in conversations (Op.cit., 2006). When people feel that they are being mistreated so that their personal integrity is threatened, conflict often arises. Thus, people have camaraderie that they want confirmed. They also have social standing that they have earned and which they want paid. The function of honorifics is to facilitate smooth communicative interaction between people. This function therefore entails that honorifics are instances of prototypical case of politeness phenomena of language use. Throughout the interaction, the use of the attendant honorifics clarifies, maintains and reinforces the relationships between the people, ultimately minimising the conflict that may arise between them.

What is more, Potts and Kawahara (2004) identify four central expressive content or descriptive properties of honorifics in Japanese. Firstly, each honorific has a meaning that is independent of the construction that contains it. Thus, sentences containing honorifics are construed as multidimensional. Secondly, every honorific achieves immediacy and performative function because in its simple utterance, it achieves its intended act. Thirdly, honorifics inform us of the speaker’s beliefs in the utterance situation. In this sense they are nondisplaceable, making them to be in different semantic scope of any morphemes. Lastly, the fact that speakers do not get full satisfaction in the paraphrasing of honorifics implies that the content of honorifics is not propositional. Not only are honorifics unparaphrable, they are also untranslatable because many languages do not have the complex honorification system of Japan. In this sense, honorifics achieve “descriptive ineffability,” (Ibid., 2004:258). Yet, another consequence is the difficulty of learning Japanese as a second language.

It is apparent that, as Shibatani (2006) argues, honorifics convey not a referential meaning, but a social meaning; they indicate the social categories of the parties in the interaction. The descriptive properties of honorifics remove their meanings from semantic composition (Potts and Kawahara, 2004). Speakers of an honorific language such as Japan are thus more attentive to social factors as determiners of categories of people in their interactions with others in dyadic encounters. These social factors include age, economic wellbeing, occupation, educational levels, family background and culture, among others. Thus, the structuring of communicative strategies in these languages is informed by the presence of these honorifics markers.

The Javanese honorification system is a unique language in the sense that it is marked by contrast between three complex and extensive systems of speech levels or speech styles and the etiquette governing their use (Sawarjuwono, 1995; Sukarno, 2010): *ngoko*, *krama* and *madya*. To say that one speaks Javanese, one has to properly determine the most suitable level because they (the levels) indicate the social relationship between the participants in the encounter in terms of status familiarity (Sawarjuwono., 1995; Kurniasih, 2005).

The *ngoko* is a low, familiar everyday basic level representing the low, ordinary style used by elders to address younger ones or intimate friends and by people of the same age and social status (Basuki, 2009). It is also used in unofficial speech by friends and close relatives when addressing one another (Wibawa and Nafalski, 2010). The *krama* speech level is the highest, polite and ceremonial level (Sukarno, 2010) used to treat a superior with special deference or respect (Shibatani, 2006). It is also the formal style used by younger people in address to older people (Wibawa and Nafalski, 2010). It is, therefore, the most elegant, formal and polite speech form (Sawarjuwono, 1995).

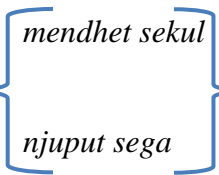
The three Javanese speech styles are examples of contrastive lexical items for a number of items of basic vocabulary. The discussion of the *ngoko/krama* axis is better illustrated by the following expressions:

<i>Ngoko:</i>	<i>apa</i>	<i>kowé</i>	<i>njupuk</i>	<i>sega</i>	<i>semono</i>
<i>Krama:</i>	<i>menapa</i>	<i>panjenengan</i>	<i>mendhet</i>	<i>sekul</i>	<i>semanten</i>
	Q	you	take	rice	that much
	Will you take that much rice?				

The two constructions above share the same referential meaning (will you take that much rice?) but index what is construed as very different social meanings. The *ngoko* is the basic language in that vocabulary items in Javanese have at least a *ngoko* equivalent (Foley, 1997). Hence, it is through *ngoko* that “a basic, spontaneous, natural, somewhat cruder manner of speaking to intimates and inferiors,” (Ibid., 1997:324) is made. When one applies the Brown and Gilman’s power and solidarity semantics, it emerges that *ngoko* forms have the same status with a T pronoun. Whereas reciprocal *ngoko* suggests intimacy and familiarity between the participants in the dyad, its asymmetrical usage implies that the *ngoko* speaker is of higher rank and power than his listener counterpart.

The *krama* forms are like the V pronoun in that they are “the common standard polite address forms,” (Op.cit., 1997:324): the speaker uses them reciprocally when addressing non-intimates. *Krama* can, however, also be used asymmetrically when a lower ranked person addresses a person with a higher status. It is held that there are strong co-occurrence constraints in speech levels in Javanese, where either all *ngoko* or all *krama* lexical items are used within a sentence.

A third intermediate or middle level, called *madya* (middle) can, however, also be identified in Javanese (Sukarno, 2010). This level is used by country folk, by younger people among themselves or by people of lower to a higher status (Basuki, 2009) and by the nobility to address their subordinates (Shibatani, 2006). The two *ngoko/krama* sentences above can be expressed in a *madya* equivalent as follows:

Napa	sampéyan		semanten
Q	you		that much
		take rice	

Will you take rice that much?

The *madya* vocabulary, which is shunned by the nobility as a commoner speech, is comparatively small, composing primarily of indexical items in the form of deictics, pronominals and such grammatical elements as question markers (Foley, 1997). When *madya* items cannot be accessed, either the *ngoko* or *krama* equivalents are borrowed for use in the *madya* level construction. In the sentence above, for instance, *mendhet sekul* and *njuput sega* have been loaned from *krama* and *ngoko* respectively. The commoners do not have competence in proper *krama*, hence their interactions are held in *madya*. Although the

nobility dislike *madya*, they use it as an outgroup code in interactions with the commoners. The association of *madya*, “with outgroup commoner usage”, argues Foley (1997:324), “also accounts for the nobility’s general devaluation of this speech level”. In short, the three speech levels *ngoko*, *krama* and *madya* express deference or its lack to the addressee.

One of the functions of honorifics is to mark the high status of the referent in relations to one or both of the participants in the speech act (Ibid., 1997). They may, of course, perform other functions, which may be expressed as follows:

When they refer to the addressee ... they may complement or augment the basic meaning of the chosen speech level. When used with *krama*, they augment the deference shown by the speaker, to the addressee through his choice of *krama*, but when used in *ngoko*, they complement the speech level choice, marking respect for a familiar, intimate addressee and asserting a reasonable claim of some status for him (Op. cit., 1997:235).

In addition to honorifics, Javanese has a set of humbling forms or lexemes by which a speaker will humble himself and exalt others (Sukarno, 2010), namely *krama andhap* or low *krama*. The humbling lexemes, which usually take the forms of verbs of exchange, suggest that the speaker is typically inferior in status to his addressee. Consider the following example:

<i>Apa</i>	<i>sliramu</i>	<i>nyuwun</i>	<i>sega semono</i>
Q	you (HON)	request (HUM)	rice that much?

The lexeme *nyuwun* (request) is a humbling *krama* indicating that the addressee is relatively of low status vis-à-vis the unspecified recipient of this act of requesting.

In the same vein, in the Persian pronominal system, the politeness system of address is made up of two sets of terms, namely self-lowering and other-raising (Keshavarz, 1988). One of the ways of expressing self-lowering and other-raising is the use of the pronouns and verbs (Beeman, 1988; Ghazanfari, 2007). The use of the politeness strategies of self-lowering and other-raising indicate that pronouns and verbs reflect relationships of either symmetry (equality) or asymmetry (inequality). Speakers are expected to show humility not only when referring to themselves but also to demonstrate respect for others. In referring to themselves, a Persian speaker will tend to place himself in an inferior position in relation to his

interlocutor through self-lowering forms (Ibid., 2007). Alternately, the speaker would use other-raising forms to elevate his addressee to a superior position.

Furthermore, the expression of respect and humility in Persian is achieved through the use of different honorific terms of address that are available to the individual speakers (Beeman, 2001). Factors such as age, social status, sex, religion and the degree of intimacy or distance between the participants in the speech event play a role in the choice of the terms.

There are a number of common self-lowering honorific terms which people use when talking to superiors in terms of the factors identified above. It is hypothesised that both inferiors and superiors may refer to themselves through these polite forms in case they want to show their modesty. Thus, the politeness system of Persian allows a situation where power and status is overruled by humility. What follows are the most common honorific address forms used for self-reference (Beeman, 1988; Keshavarz, 1988):

Baende/bandeh

slave, servant

hæqir

humble

moxles

sincere

cûker

devoted servant

The use of the Persian pronominal system is not without sex and age restrictions. Women and children, for instance, are forbidden from using the above honorific terms. The honorific *baende* is used in place of the neutral pronoun *man* (I) (Beeman, 1988; 2001), has a feminine counterpart *kæniz* (female slave) and is restricted for use by elderly women in rural areas and by the working-class (Keshavarz, 1988). By the same token, “reference to the other person in interaction may substitute the verb *færmudæn* (command) for the neutral verb *goftæn* (say),” (Beeman, 2001:41). In addition, it is argued that when used by children, these terms evoke ridicule.

Keshavarz (1988) further alludes to the fact that these honorific terms can be discussed in terms of their use by different social classes of people. This may be illustrated below in figure 2.8 below:

Figure 2.8: Self-reference honorific terms in Persian

Honorific term	Social class association
<i>baende</i>	informal, widespread, adult male
<i>hæqir</i>	no class distinction, less widely used
<i>moxles</i>	no class distinction, less widely used
<i>cåker</i>	working class, uneducated, least widely used

Furthermore, the choice of honorific terms requires verb phrases. In the following polite form, which indicates the existence of a power relationship, the honorific *baende*, is followed by the verb phrase *xedmaet arz kaerdæm* (made a request to you):

baende xedmaet arz kaerdæm

slave [=I] made a request to you

The self-lowering and other-raising expressions that have been used during the pre and post Islamic revolution clearly locate the Persian address system within a broader political framework. The use of forms such as *baende* (slave or servant) and *cåker* (devoted servant) to express respect and humility paints Iranians as divided into superiors and inferiors. The object of this study is partly to explore factors that inform honorification and othering forms in Xitsonga.

2.5 LITERATURE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORMS OF ADDRESS AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

A research on address forms should necessarily also focus on terms of reference because “[t]he address meaning of a word cannot be assumed to be the same as its referential

meaning,” (Dickey, 1997: 256). Expressed differently, “the way we address someone directly and the manner in which we refer to that same person are not always the same,” (Nevala, 2004:2125). At this point, it is helpful to distinguish between referential and address meanings.

“A term of reference is that word or phrase used to refer to or describe a given kinship relationship. In contrast, a term of address is a word or phrase used to address or speak to that person,” (Bishop, 1996:247).

According to Finegan (1994), address meaning refers to the social factors that are conveyed by that word or utterance. It is the vocative meaning of words, i.e the use of words to call persons (Qin, 2008) or to name or indicate the person being addressed (Richards et al., 1985). The speaker may, for example, convey such factors as his social class, ethnicity, regional origin, gender as well as the context (formal or informal) in which the expression is used. Thus, expressions, *inter alia*, transmit social information about the identity of the person who utters them.

The relationship between terms of reference and terms of address can further be described as follows:

The difference in meaning with which sociolinguistics studying addresses is concerned is thus a difference between referential and address meanings. *Madam* in its referential meaning can be used to designate a brothel-keeper, while it is polite in its address meaning. *Love* in its referential meaning is used of a strong emotion or a person towards whom such strong emotion is felt, but it can be a neutral form in some parts of England, used for example by train conductors to passengers (Dickey, 1997:255).

However, according to Waite and Hawker (2009), the distinction between referential and social or vocative meanings is neither completely transparent nor is it easily determined. The word ‘madam’, for example, has the following dictionary or referential meaning:

1. A polite form of address for a woman.
2. *Brit. Informal* a bossy or cheeky girl.
3. A woman who runs a brothel.

Apart from the referential and the address meanings of words, speakers use words to express the affective meanings of these words. It is helpful to examine affective meaning because used in marked contexts, address forms may be used to express emotions. The affective meaning of utterances communicates the speaker's feelings, attitudes, and opinions about the context, the referent or a particular piece of information (Finegan, 1994). In the same vein, Richards et al. (1985) claim that affective meaning is synonymous to connotative meaning, which refers to the additional meaning of a word beyond its central meaning. The 'stance' or affective meaning level of the utterance may be brought about by word choice. The communication of attitudes and feelings can be brought about by stress or intonation, accompanied by appropriate facial expressions, of the speaker. Thus, the affective meaning of an expression requires the interpreter to look beyond the words or referential meaning.

Another reason why it is important to discuss reference concurrently with address is that there are virtually infinite ways in which a person can be addressed or referred to, and thus there can be no 'normal' way of referring or addressing a person. Dickey (1997:259) argues:

Both address and reference vary according to the speaker and express the speaker's relationship to the addressee or person referred to. Each person will normally receive a range of addresses [and references] according to the speaker, and it is even possible for the same address or reference to have different implications when used by different people It is of no use to find that A addresses B as *Mr. Smith* and C refers to B as *John*, if we do not know how A refers to B and C addresses him".

With respect to pronominal address, for instance, *šoma* in Persian may be used to convey intimacy when used to the speaker's mother but something completely different when used to a friend (Keshavarz, 2001). Thus, in examining the relationship between vocative and referential usages, it is important to pay particular attention to individual dyads rather than to general address or reference forms.

In addition to 'normal' forms, other forms of address could be used within a given dyad. Insults, for instance, "are not the normal forms for a given dyad, but rather 'marked', unusual addresses which can be used to convey a particular emotion," (Dickey, 1997:260). Markedness refers to the fact that "certain linguistic elements are more basic, natural, and frequent (unmarked) than others which are referred to as 'marked'," (Richards et al., 1985).

The theory of markedness implies that “not all members of a linguistic class are equally good representatives of such a class,” (Mühlhäusler and Harré, 1990:10). The simplest and most general or most typical use of a word is known as unmarked. The contention as to which is the marked element, and which one is unmarked is usually relative to a single culture, although there are always possibilities of universalism.

There exist contexts in which speakers are required to refer to people unknown to their addressees. In such contexts “the terms used in reference will be governed by the need to convey certain information,” (Dickey, 1997:260) such as the conveyance of information relating to kinship, social and economic status. Speakers may also refer to people unknown to their addressees by describing them. Referents are described in terms of their prominent or well-known traits which may be physical, psychological, social or emotional. Some of the physical characteristics include a person’s description in terms of their diminutive (DIM) and augmentative (AUG) status. Thus, in reference it is not uncommon to use words which rarely or never occur in address.

The study by Dickey (1997) and Nevala (2004) reveal that generally, address usage is more consistent than reference usage. Dickey (1997:271) states: “if speaker A addresses C as *Mrs Smith* in one setting, it is highly probable that A will address C in the same way in most other settings”. Thus, in conclusion, given that it is less probable that A will always refer to C in the same way, address usage may be considered the ‘normal’ form from which convergence may be measured. In other words, direct address is the norm that governs reference because it (reference) derives from address. Referential terms “are often chosen and derived from the range of direct address formulae used of the referent either by the writer or the addressee,” (Nevala, 2004:2150). In order to measure the convergence of address usage, knowledge of how the speaker addresses, rather than, refers to, another, is required. Accommodation or convergence is a process, in a face-face interaction, whereby a person’s form of address converges towards the speech of the person he is talking to (Holmes, 1992), i.e the practice by speakers of bringing their speech patterns close to those of their addressees (Dickey, 1997).

In Shona society, kin terms are used as a form of title, and as exemplified by *babamunini Mateu* (uncle Mateu), the title is used concurrently with the first name in direct address or reference (Mashiri, 1999). However, the address *tete maiChido* (aunt mother of Chido) in Shona illustrates that sometimes a title is used with the name of addressee’s last child, Chido.

Also, children in Shona address or refer to their neighbours with their first names prefixed with honorific markers such as *va as* in *VaRunesu* or *VaRazaro* (Ibid., 1999).

2.6 LITERATURE ON ADDRESS AVOIDANCE AS A FORM OF ADDRESS

Address avoidance or zero address occurs in a number of situations, including contexts where a participant in a conversation is not sure of which term to use. In this case, the participant then chooses to avoid the address term altogether and/or uses nothing at all (Wardhaugh, 1992; O’Grady et al., 1996). In other situations, a person may be in doubt as to how to address another person.

Language avoidance (LA) is manifested in different ways. In the case of Guugu-Yimidhirr in Queensland, Australia, for instance, speaking to a person’s mother-in-law is completely prohibited, and a special set of lexemes are used to address a person’s brother-in-law (Foley, 1997; Shibatani, 2006). This form of language avoidance to address one’s brother-in-law requires the speaker to replace everyday language lexemes with special avoidance forms. Guugu-Yimidhirr is divided into everyday language, Dyirbal, and brother-in-law language, Dyalnguy. The latter is part of the avoidance behaviour between certain taboo relatives. The following expressions illustrate the respective forms:

Dyirbal: *nyundu* *buurraay* *waami*
 you (SING.) water find
 Did you find water?

Dyalnguy: *yurra* *wabirr* *yudurrin*
 you (PL.) water find
 Did you find water?

It is evident that in addressing a brother-in-law using brother-in-law language, the speaker uses the second person plural pronoun *yurra* (you) with a singular addressee akin to the V pronoun form in European languages. This pronoun “neutralizes the distinctions between the singular, the dual and the plural forms,” (Shibatani, 2006:384). Foley (1997:328) states that “the use of such a sentence is a social deictic; an indexical of a deferential social relationship of brother-in-law as the addressee”. It is also an index of the affinal kin relationship between

the participants. In addition, it is suggested that the brother-in-law lexicon is highly fixed and presupposed so that it would be socially highly taboo to use anything else in the context of the interaction between the interlocutors.

Conversation in Guugu-Yimidhirr brother-in-law linguistic usage is mediated and indirect (Ibid., 1997). The message to his in-law is directed through a mediator, his wife, while at the same time using avoidance lexemes. Swear words associated with genitalia or bodily acts are shunned, including those that may be construed as suggesting directly or indirectly, genitalia. For example, the words *warrbi* (axe) and *nambal* (stone) are shunned because they may be decoded as suggesting ‘penis’ and ‘testicle’, respectively. The language provides “linguistically marked ways of displaying deference to certain classificatory kinsmen,” (Haviland, 2006: 184). Foley (1997:328) writes:

Thus, the specific social deictic function of the avoidance lexemes is mirrored in wider conventions of appropriate social behavior of muted individual emotional display, again very similar to the conventions for speaking in the krama speech level in Javanese or high addressee honorifics in Japanese. All these linguistic systems are social deictics of deference indicating what kind of person you are to me or how you or I feel about the person we are speaking about ...

Another type of address avoidance is found among the Nguni, otherwise known as *ukuhlonipha* or *hlonipha* in Nguni and *ho hlonipha* in Southern Sotho (Finlayson, 2002; Childs, 2003; Luthuli, 2007; Anchimbe, 2011). *Hlonipha* can be defined as “a way of registering social relationships in order to code the asymmetrical power or status relationship between social entities,” (Childs, 2003:179). De Kadt (1998) posits that from the verb *hlonipha* we can derive the noun *inhlonipho*, ‘respect, politeness’. The term *hlonipha* broadly refers to both the linguistic and behavioural aspect of the custom of respect and deference (Luthuli, 2007).

Hlonipha is an example of a marked speech formed which is traditionally used by women in order to “avoid words that sound like the names of any of their close male in-laws,” (van der Spuy, 2006:760). This results in a radical change in vocabulary. It is, however, pointed out that it is not the name itself which is the issue. Rather, what is at issue is the name as a device which normally attracts the attention of its bearer and the focus on the person uttering that

particular name. Hence *hlonipha* takes the form of avoidances (Raum, 1973, in Luthuli, 2007). According to Anchimbe (2011), *hlonipha*, along with the notion of *ubuntu*, is linked to the concept of self within a group. Loosely translated as humanity or *vumunhu* in Xitsonga, *ubuntu* is located on the connectedness between people, making it impossible for one to exist without the other.

According to de Kadt (1998:183), children and young people in isiZulu culture are subject to the respect strategies of *inhlonipho* because they (the strategies) are “extended to the status deferential between lower and higher status adults”. The show of respect is unidirectional: it is towards the higher status person, i.e. the above one in the social hierarchy. The respect extended to the person with a higher status is reciprocated by “the attitude of *ubuntu*, ‘humanity’, which is expected of superordinates in response,” (Ibid., 1998:182). Two poles of sociological significance in such relations are the agent and the referent (Luthuli, 2007). The former represents the inferior social position and the latter the superior position. It is towards the referent that conduct is directed. The two poles are responsible for daily address-switching in which a speaker shows preference for one address form with a view to conforming to the social norms of a society. Thus the speaker is able to regulate his choice of linguistic forms in order to show his sense of place, i.e. of being the agent. Failure to regulate or honour one’s position is viewed as disrespectful behaviour.

Luthuli (2007:3) draws a connection between the meaning of the word *hlonipha* and an *inhloni* (hedgehog) as follows: “The animal called *inhloni* has the habit of casting its head on its chest and looking round shyly, in the same way a Zulu girl may not look her lover in the face, nor a bride her in-laws, as they are said to feel *izinhloni*, or bashfulness”. A hedgehog is called *inhloni* because of its tendency to hide its head like a young wife who would hide her head under the kaross in a face-to-face interaction with her father-in-law. No wonder a good illustration of how *hlonipha* functions in Nguni cultures is how certain linguistic forms are taboos to newly married women (Childs, 2003). The newly married woman is expected to observe *hlonipha* linguistic forms as a sign that she respects the family into which she is married. Specifically, in the Nguni realization of *hlonipha*, a newly married woman is prohibited from pronouncing any of the following forms of name avoidance (Ibid., 2003; Luthuli, 2007):

(1) Name taboo: the name of her husband, father-in-law, etc is taboo.

- (2) Word taboo: the name and any word employing the same root are taboo.
- (3) Phonological word avoidance (syllable avoidance): the actual name and any similar phonological strings are taboo.

It is argued that the name of her father-in-law is the primary name of avoidance, and may include other older males up to two generations away, whether they are dead or alive. Not surprisingly, Finlayson (2002:280) holds that in isiXhosa culture, “the linguistic custom of syllabic avoidance is applied to the names of the father-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law’s brothers and their wives and the mother-in-law’s sisters and their husbands.

The daughter-in-law is required to avoid pronouncing the names and syllables found in the names of her husband’s family such as mother-in-law, her father-in-law’s brothers and sisters, and their husband and wives (Luthuli, 2007). If a great-grandfather’s name is Saki, the syllables [sa] and [ki] have to be avoided, and [s], may be replaced by other syllables such as [ty]. Phonological word avoidance requires that any word containing the same syllable should be avoided. Another strategy of avoidance is to use descriptive phrases or circumlocution and verbal derivatives for the name. So, instead of the name Saki, the woman may say ‘one who returns’.

One of the factors that promote the use of the practice of *hlonipha* is that the Nguni society is both patriarchal and hierarchical; it is ruled and controlled by men, with the homestead, or kraal, as the locus of the family (de Kadt, 1998; Childs, 2003). Secondly, marriage is exogamous. It is not allowed between kins related through clans of the four grandparents. Thus, the new bride has the status of an outsider; coming from outside the clan, the newly wed wife has to live with the general Southern Bantu practice of being treated as socially inferior (Ibid., 2003).

But *hlonipha* is not without its own problems, hence “many people regret the passing of the custom,” (Childs, 2003:185). De Kadt (2002) in Luthuli (2007) holds that females in urban areas are showing increasing inclination towards a western identity through their extensive use of English. They are “beginning to reject traditional femininity ... in favour of a more westernised, emancipated identity,” (Ibid., 2007:6).

Anchimbe (2011) examines the use of five address terms or appellations as substitutions for real or personal names, and their strategic use for pragmatic gains by Cameroonians. These appellations are *manyi* (mother of twins), *tanyi* (father of twins), *moyo* (male-in-law), *mbanya*

(co-wife in a polygamous marriage) and *mbombo* (namesake). These appellations replace or ensure the avoidance of personal names of the addressees. They are strategies or unwritten rules of name-escapism or name-avoidance whose breaking would be interpreted as rude or uncouth.

Three fundamental influences on the avoidance of names and the subsequent choice of appellative strategies can be distinguished in Cameroonian interactions (Ibid., 2011). In the first place, there is a need to indicate politeness, i.e. to show respect towards the addressee. In terms of this postulation, the local address of *tanyi*, *manyi* and others are said to carry a stronger bonding force than their English counterparts, in particular the TFN pattern. Thus, it is considered impolite for a young man to address a mother by TFN than he would use *manyi* as much as addressing older persons by their personal names signals disrespect and impoliteness.

Secondly, name avoidance indicates group solidarity and group bonding, i.e the need to bond or maintain communion within the group in the belief systems of Cameroonian cultures. This has the effect of positioning Cameroonian culture as group-based or collective entities where individuals exist as components of the larger group of which they are a part. The third influence of the choice of appellations is opportunism. The use of address forms for opportunistic reasons may occur when an interlocutor desires to bail himself out of an undesirable situation, i.e when he wants to survive or when he wants to gain some practical benefit or advantage within certain contexts.

In short, the terms *tanyi*, *manyi*, *moyo*, *mbombo* and *mbanya* are used in socio-pragmatically significant ways for a number of reasons, as follows:

To get closer to the addressee, to be polite and show respect or deference for the addressee, to benefit from or be part of the addressee's in-group, and to maintain societal order and social communication. Not calling someone by personal name ensures cordiality in interaction and is characteristic feature of interpersonal communication that confirms the distinct nature of postcolonial communities. Name-avoidance, therefore, is not just a temporary form of situational indirectness but rather an important social interactional facet of the Cameroonian community (Op.cit., 2011:1482).

Through the use of appellative strategies, the interactional facet of the Cameroonian society underlies the norms of that society. These norms are unwritten but are apparently observed throughout the society. The norms relate to how interlocutors negotiate issues of social order and power, among others, in their daily interactions. Anchimbe and Janney (2011) state that “among many Cameroonian indigenous cultures, being ‘polite’ goes with being well-behaved, serviceable to the community, humble and respectful. Polite verbal behaviour, i.e. ways of speaking, only comes to compliment these qualities”.

Another example of name avoidance can be cited in a political advertisement written in both Xironga and Portuguese taken from a Mozambican daily newspaper (Ibid., 2011). In the advert, a nephew (sister’s son) and an maternal uncle avoid using addressing each other by names and instead use *malume* (mother’s brother) and *n’tukulo* (sister’s son), respectively. Addressing older people by their names is seen as disrespectful because norms of Mozambican society do not allow this (Op.cit., 2011).

It is apparent that in most cultures, language avoidance is a reality. In such communities, avoidance is in part informed by the norms and values of such societies, including status differentiability, age and other dynamics. In this research, the crux of the matter is to discover socio-cultural rules and circumstances that underlie language avoidance in Xitsonga.

2.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter, attention was paid to literature review on the overall address system. The first section addressed literature on names, titles and teknonyms as forms of address. It was indicated that the juxtaposition of names, titles and teknonyms in one section is based on the understanding that, in practice, titles are used to preface family names, and teknonyms are an extension of first names. It has been noted that the choice of names, titles and teknonyms as address forms is underpinned by underlying socio-cultural rules. Literature on the kinship system as a form of address pointed out that marriage, descent and parenting are crucial in the choice of kinship terms. This makes kinship a social, rather than, a biological relationship. It has also been seen that kinship links are the basic building blocks of social structure in age-set societies.

The section on literature on the pronominal and honorific systems as forms of address focused on the second person pronoun and its alternative counterpart, honorifics. It was discussed that the pronominal system is manifested variously in different cultures. In Asian countries, for instance, it is not surprising to find more than two forms of the pronominal system. In such cultures, the different forms would express varying degrees of the familiarity-deference dichotomy. In most European cultures, there are two such forms, one expressing familiarity and the other deference. It was seen that honorifics are an integral part of the politeness dimension of language use, which in some cultures, are used instead of the pronominal system.

Literature on the relationship between forms of address and terms of reference was discussed on the basis that it is not useful to know how A addresses B without knowing how A refers to B. A speaker can address his interlocutor by a term of endearment but refers to her by a derogatory term. In either instance, the choice of terms may express different interpersonal and socio-cultural issues. Lastly, literature on address avoidance as a form of address describes contexts where an interlocutor, may, for various reasons, opt for linguistic units that can, at best, be described as zero address as a strategy to avoid certain forms of familiarity or respect. It was important to explore this issue because the avoidance of certain linguistic units to address or to refer to another is also a form of address.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most important components of this study is the collection and analysis of data gathered from participants. Data can be quantitative, qualitative or be collected and analysed through a mixed method approach. The mixed method framework involves the mixing of both the qualitative and the quantitative methods in a single study (Creswell et al., 2003). The present study focuses on qualitative data. Thus, this chapter presents qualitative research methodology.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND STRATEGY

There are three types of research designs or strategies, namely quantitative, qualitative and mixed method research strategies (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Matthew and Ross, 2010; Hammond and Wellington, 2013). The researcher has chosen qualitative inquiry as the research design suitable for this type of study for a number of reasons.

Christensen (2011) identifies two characteristics of a qualitative research approach. Firstly, it is interpretive; qualitative data is made up of words, and other nonnumerical data. The main task of the researcher is to attempt to understand these data from the participants' subjective perspective. A qualitative study focuses on meaning and interpretation (Liamputtong, 2009) because it implies "a concern for more inductive analysis, for exploring, explaining, uncovering phenomena and for generating new theoretical insights," (Hammond and Wellington, 2013:107). Similarly, Creswell (2009) holds the view that qualitative inquiry is "a means of exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem". The phenomenon of address usage has not been explored in

Xitsonga and therefore needs to be explored and understood. “An interpretivist research paradigm emphasises qualitative research methods, which are flexible, context sensitive and largely concerned with understanding complex issues,” (Carcary, 2009:11). Address usage is a complex social phenomenon whose choice is context dependent and therefore whose meaning must be interpreted.

On a similar note, Clarkson (1989) in Carcary (2009) posits that it is impossible to study people outside the context of their ongoing interactions with others or separate from their interconnectedness in the world out there. It is within this framework that Hammond and Wellington (2013:75) assert that an interpretivist framework is concerned with “the meaning of a phenomenon for those taking part and the consequences of their behaviour”. The central thesis of this view is that proper understanding of the world requires multiple interpretations. Research therefore is neither value-free nor does it exist as a single objective reality; there are multiple realities that must be accounted for. There are two types of realities: external and internal realities. The former refers to what occurs in the physical world and the latter pinpoints the subjective and unique reality to every individual (Carcary, 2009). In the present study, both realities must be accounted for.

Still, Walsh and Downe (2005) hold the view that an interpretivist approach seeks to uncover and communicate the meanings and interpretations that human beings apparently invest in social activities. Such meanings are a function of the circumstances in which the study takes place, the individuals involved in the research and the broad interrelationships in the situations that are being researched (Carcary, 2009). Thus, in order to arrive at the meanings of the address system in Xitsonga, the researcher will seek detailed description of the phenomenon by asking questions of the type ‘what?’, ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ of the interactions of the speakers within the chosen dyadic encounters (Walsh and Downe, 2005).

Apart from its inherently interpretive nature, the choice of qualitative research strategy is informed by the understanding that qualitative data are reliable. In addition to their capacity to be replicated (Tracy, 2013), the reliability of qualitative data lies in the fact that rather than presenting data from the point of view of the researcher, the world is documented from the perspective of the language speakers (Hammond and Wellington, 2013). It may well be that the understanding of people’s behaviour requires the understanding of the meanings and interpretations that they give to their behaviour. In fact, this ties in with the aim of qualitative research: to capture the lived experiences of the social world and the meanings that

individuals give these experiences from their own viewpoints. Liamputtong (2009:xi) is more direct about this by writing as follows:

Because of its flexibility and fluidity, qualitative research is suited to understanding the meanings, interpretations, and subjective experiences of individuals. Qualitative inquiry allows the researchers to be able to hear the voices of those who are silenced, othered, and marginalized by the dominant social order, as qualitative methods ask not only “what is it?” but, more importantly, “explain it to me – how, why, what’s the process, what’s the significance?”. The in-depth nature of qualitative methods allows the researched to express their feelings and experiences in their own words.

Another characteristic of a qualitative inquiry as identified by Christensen et al. (2011) is that it is conducted in the field, that is, the person’s natural setting and surroundings. In the case of this study, the researcher will conduct the study in the villages and townships of Hlanganani where the participants reside. The study therefore involves multiple participants and multiple sites of data collection; a qualitative research approach relies on multiple types of subjective data (Ibid., 2011). Both the subjects and the sites of data collection in which the participants have been selected in terms of the criteria of age, gender, marital status, educational level and occupation have been triangulated (see Liamputtong, 2009). The selection of the subjects in terms of these variables is premised on the understanding that the sampled individuals are situated in different but similar social contexts in varying degrees. The goal of source triangulation is to confirm and to illustrate common emerging and even divergent themes (patterns) from the participants. It is clear that qualitative research is essential for producing data from diverse individuals situated in particular contexts.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data can be defined as a collection of organised information or facts through experience, observation, experiment or similar situations external to the researcher (Yin, 2010). Matthews and Ross (2010:43) describe the role of data in research as follows:

Data stands in place of the social reality we wish to study. We cannot simply know a **social phenomenon**, but we can attempt to capture it as data which represent the reality we have experienced, observed, asked questions about or are trying to explain. As social beings we all gather and work with data every day as we take part in the social world through conversations, reading, observing and writing.

Methods of data collection refer to the more specific techniques used by the researcher to obtain the empirical data to be used in order to answer the research questions (Christensen et al., 2011) and to analyse the data within the research study (Creswell et al., 2003; Hammond and Wellington, 2013). This section is divided into data collection and data analysis.

3.3.1 Data collection

In this subsection, the following are discussed: types of data, the data collection method, population, sampling and sample size.

(a) Types of data

Social researchers work with data. Data take the form of verbal data or language, spoken or written (Matthews and Ross, 2010). Language as data refers to the means by which people capture, reflect on and describe social reality. This research uses verbal data captured from the subjects. The following are characteristics of verbal data (Ibid., 2010):

- (1) They are interactive and responsive to the other person;
- (2) They are usually associated with being in the physical presence of the recipient of the spoken word;
- (3) Usually both the speaker and the recipient are able to gauge the impact of the response to the spoken words; and
- (4) They are supplemented by non-verbal communication which is visible to the recipient, including tone of voice.

Data can also be classified as primary or secondary data. Primary data are pieces of information that have to be collected for the first time and secondary data exist as information (Nkuna, 2010). Simply stated, primary data have been gathered by the researcher specifically for his own research; secondary data have been gathered by others for public consumption and can be used by other researchers (Matthews and Ross, 2010). This research relies on primary verbal data captured through data collection methods by the researcher of the present study.

(b) The collection method

A number of examples of research techniques or data collection methods within the interpretive tradition can be identified (Sarantakos, 1997; Locke et al., 2010; Hammond and Wellington, 2013). These are:

- (1) Systematic observation and use of field notes
- (2) Examination of documents
- (3) Semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews

In their quest to explore address forms, previous research works have used a diversity of research methods. Brown and Gilman's (1968) pioneering power-solidarity semantic work and Keshavarz's (2001) quantitative study of Persian address used questionnaires. A number of researchers, however, felt that Brown and Gilman's survey research sample was not representative of the speakers of the languages investigated. Thus Afful (2007) used both observation and interviews, Oyetade (1995) used direct observation of actual usage and informal interviews of participants supplemented by the writer's own introspection as a native Yoruba speaker, while Dickey (1997) used both interviews and questionnaire-based interviews. Kretzenbacher et al. (2006) based their study of address forms of German on interviews. The present study will use semi-structured interviews as data collection methods.

A semi-structured interview as a data collection method is also known as in-depth interview (Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Matthews and Ross, 2010). The word interview literally means an 'inter-view', that is, "an exchange of views between two individuals who discuss a common interest," (Liamputtong, 2009:45). Interviews are thus particular type of conversations between the researcher and those that are being researched, variously termed participants, subjects, participants, informants or interviewees (Matthews and Ross, 2010;

Hammond and Wellington, 2013). Kvale (2007) in Liamputtong (2009) defines interview as a specific form of conversation for the purpose of knowledge production through interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee.

An interview has also been variously referred to as a “conversation with an agenda,” (Day, 2007, in Liamputtong, 2009:43), “a conversation with a purpose,” (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:101) or “special conversation,” (Liamputtong, 2009:43) for three reasons. The first is that the participant is requested to answer the researcher’s questions. Secondly, an interview provides the researcher an opportunity to learn about the feelings of the participants, their experiences, and the world in which they live. Finally, the researcher is able to elicit rich information from the perspectives of the informants in their own words.

The aim of in-depth interview ... is to explore the ‘insider perspective’. To capture, in the participants’ own words, their thoughts, perceptions, feelings and experiences. The process involves a meaning-making effort that starts out as a partnership between researcher and participant. It necessitates asking and listening actively (Liamputtong, 2009:43).

There are a number of strengths or advantages of a semi-structured interview (Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Liamputtong, 2009):

- (1) It is a face-to-face and a one-on-one interaction between the researcher and the participant;
- (2) It builds a kind of intimacy resulting in mutual self-disclosure;
- (3) There is a greater depth of self-expression by the subject – the researcher respects how the participants frames and structures the responses;
- (4) The participant’s perspective on the issue being explored unfolds as he or she views it (emit perspective) and not as the researcher views it (the etic perspective): it allows the researcher to see the world from the informant’s perspective;
- (5) It seeks deep information and understanding from the subject;
- (6) It requires the researcher to make sense of the multiple meanings and interpretations of the use of the phenomenon under investigation (the address system);
- (7) It allows the researcher to delve into the ‘hidden perceptions’ of the participants;
- (8) It enables the researcher to construct knowledge about the reality of the participants from the information obtained through the conversation;

- (10) It allows for immediate probing, follow-up and clarification questions;
- (11) It is valuable for accessing subjugated voices and obtaining subjugated knowledge from vulnerable and marginalised people such as women, uneducated people and the physically challenged; and
- (12) When more than one participant is involved, it yields data in quantity: a wider variety of information from the participants.

In concurrence with Liamputtong (2009), Hammond and Wellington (2013:91) express the following views about the value of in-depth interviews:

The value of the interview is that it allows the researcher to probe an interviewee's account of an event as well as their thoughts, values, feelings and perspectives more generally. Interviews 'go deep', allowing the researcher to see an event or context from the point of view of the people he or she is researching; interviews are interactive allowing for clarification of questions and identification of unexpected themes.

Semi-structured interviews will involve the acquisition of data on address usage in a face-to-face open-ended interaction with individual Xitsonga participants. The researcher will ask a standard set of questions with one or more individually tailored questions whose goal will be to seek clarity or to probe the respondent's reasoning (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). But according to Welling and Hammond (2013:93), the interview does not suggest the whole story of the respondent. The writers argue as follows:

The 'story' presented by the interviewee is one of many which he or she could tell with conviction. The interview is not, then, the 'truth' as seen by the interviewee, but a discourse about a topic, and in the telling of a story the interviewee is making sense of the story; in other words, the story changes in its telling.

Thus, having heard the story about address usage in Xitsonga from the informants chosen on the basis of the variables of age, gender, marital status, education background and occupation, the next task will be for the researcher to give meaning to it (the story of address choice). In so doing, it is important to be careful not to misrepresent the truth as interpreted from the data gathered from the participants.

In-depth interviews have limitations and weaknesses as well (Sarantakos, 1997; Marshall and Rossman, 2006) and these can be summarised as follows:

- (1) In the personal interaction between the researcher and the participant during the interview, the former expects the latter to cooperate. The participants may refuse to do this;
- (2) The participants may be unwilling or uncomfortable to share data required by the interviewer;
- (3) The interview demands good listening skills and personal interaction skills, question framing and gentle probing for elaboration of responses from the interviewer;
- (4) The volumes of data that can be obtained through interviewing may be time-consuming to analyse; and
- (5) One-to-one interviews may be impoverished because the participant had not reflected on the topic and therefore feels unprepared to make a proper response.

Another limitation of semi-structured interviews is brought into the equation by the Observer's Paradox. The Observer's Paradox states that while the aim of linguistic research in the community is to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed, the problem is that data can only be obtained by systematically observing the participants (Tarone, 1979; Labov, 1997). When the participants know that they are being observed, their responses may no longer be as natural as they would be in a natural setting. This is mainly because the presence of the researcher and the issue presented to them for exploration may lead the participants to start paying more careful attention to their speech.

In order to off-set the impact of the Paradox, it is important for the researcher to do two things. In the first place, he will elicit narratives of personal experience about address behaviour from the participants. In the second place, whenever possible, the researcher will interview the participants in pairs or groups of three or four. During these pair or group discussions, there will be breaks whose sole purpose will be to put the participants at ease.

(c) Population

Population can be defined as the entire or full set of elements, data or group of people that are of interest to a researcher and from which a sample is selected (Beins, 2009; Christensen et al., 2011, Hammond and Wellington, 2013). In the case of this study, the population are all

Xitsonga speaking people (excluding children) of Hlanganani from which the researcher will make a sample. The informants will be selected in terms of the variables of age, gender, level of schooling, marital status and occupation. It is assumed that the presumed commonalities and differences in the way people use the address system relates directly to differences in their age, gender, marital status, level of education and occupation.

(d) Sampling

Under sampling, three important issues become important. These are sampling frame, purpose sampling technique and sampling strategy.

The sampling frame

A sampling frame is a “list of all the members of a population from which a sample may be drawn,” (Mathews and Ross, 2010:162). In the context of the present study, the list of all Xitsonga speakers in Hlanganani is neither available nor desirable. The determining of socio-cultural rules, values, expectations and practices underlying address choice, and the determination of their impact on various interpersonal relationships is a qualitative research question requiring the selection of participants through purposive sampling as discussed below.

Purposive sampling technique

Purposive sampling is a non-probability based sample “associated with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focuse[s] on the exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions,” (Matthews and Ross, 2010:167). In purposive or judgemental sampling, the researcher chooses subjects who, in his opinion, are relevant to the research topic. The most productive sample that will answer the research question is selected (Marshall, 1996). In other words, in the selection of the sample, the researcher’s judgement reigns supreme (Sarantakos, 1997). This view resonates with Liamputtong’s (2009:11), who writes:

Qualitative research relies heavily on **purposive sampling** strategies. These strategies are also termed qualitative, theoretical, non-probability, or judgment sampling. Purposive sampling refers to the deliberate selection of specific individuals, events, or settings because of the crucial information they can provide that cannot be obtained so well through other channels.

Thus, purposive sampling implies that “the researchers intentionally select participants who have experience with the central phenomenon or the key concept being explored,” (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007:112). The selected individuals are expected to yield the most or best information about the phenomenon under investigation, and in this case, forms of address (see Van der Merwe, 1996). The individuals purposefully selected for this study are Xitsonga speakers in terms of the criteria of age differences, gender diversity, marital status, differences in educational backgrounds and who are in different occupations. A case can be made that individuals obtained in this way are information-rich and thus will provide in-depth study, understanding and insights about the socio-cultural rules underlying address usage in Xitsonga.

The aim is not to make empirical generalisations that apply to all Xitsonga speakers because qualitative research “does not require a generalisation of the findings as in positivist science” (Liamputtong, 2009:11). More importantly, Vatsonga, like other linguistic groupings, are not ideal speakers who live “in a completely homogeneous speech-community,” (Chomsky, 1965:3). There will thus always be linguistic variation in the use of the address system based on the identified categories of the participants. It is, however, assumed that on account of the informants’ close geographical proximity, the Xitsonga speaking people of Hlanganani represents a speech community. In other words, they have common address usage which may, however, differ in varying degrees based on the selected variables, among others.

Sampling strategy

Within purposive sampling, the maximal variation sampling strategy is used. This strategy can be described as follows:

Maximum variation sampling involves finding heterogeneous samples across wider sample groups... . It aims at capturing and describing the central themes that cut across a great deal of variation. With this strategy, researchers may include participants that cut across age, gender, ethnicity, social class, geographic location, health status, nationality and so on (Liamputtong, 2009:13).

Through maximal variation, the researcher is able to access a wide range of data or participants representing wide variations of the phenomenon being studied (Tracy, 2013). Maximal variation purposive sampling strategy opens the possibility of recruiting underrepresented or marginalised people whose views can add complexity and breadth to the research.

Heterogeneous variation sample, as it is also called, identifies cross-cutting themes among the participants, heterogeneous as they were in terms of the categories of age, gender, marital status, social class and educational levels (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Matthews and Ross, 2010). In other words, the researcher has decided in advance which types of people should be interviewed and observed (Moore, 2000). “The central idea is that if participants are purposefully chosen to be different in the first place, then their views will reflect this difference and provide a good qualitative study,” (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007:112). The researcher also believes that differences in terms of the above variables imply not only divergent perspectives but also similar viewpoints on the phenomenon of address usage.

(e) Sample size

Sample size relates to the determination of the required number of participants that are needed to provide the data for further analysis. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007:112) say:

In terms of numbers, rather than selecting a large number of people or sites, the qualitative researcher identifies a small number that will provide in-depth information about each person or site. The larger the number of people, the less the amount of detail typically emerging from any one individual – and a key idea of qualitative research is to provide detailed views of individuals and the specific contexts in which they hold these views. ... The number relates to the question or to the type of qualitative approach used

Similarly, Liamputtong (2009:11) argues as follows:

Qualitative research is concerned with in-depth understanding of the issue under examination. It relies heavily on individuals who are able to provide rich accounts of their experiences. For this reason it usually works best with small numbers of individuals. Qualitative researchers sample for *meaning*, rather than frequency. We are not interested in how much, or how many, in *what*. Qualitative research aims to examine a ‘process’ or the ‘meanings’ that people give to their own social situations.

This is echoed by Matthews and Ross (2010:167) when they write:

In these approaches to sampling, there is no attempt to create a sample that is statistically representative of a population. Rather, people or cases are chosen ‘with purpose’ to enable the researcher to explore the research questions or develop a theory. The cases are selected on the basis of characteristics or experiences that are directly related to the researcher’s area of interest and her research questions, and will allow the researcher to study the research topic in-depth. The cases chosen are those that can reveal and illuminate the most about the research area.

It is apparent that there is no set formula which is rigidly applied in the determination of the sample size in qualitative research (Liamputtong, 2009). Instead, an important consideration is to ensure that the sample size provides enough data to allow for the thorough analysis of the research question or objectives of the study, namely address usage. The participants must, however, be selected meaningfully and strategically. Thus, the sample size of the present study is limited to 29 participants chosen in terms of the variables of age, gender,

marital status, level of education and occupation. The small number of the sample also ensures minimal expenditure of resources in terms of effort, time and money.

The assumption is also made that limiting the number of participants to 29 subjects would satisfy the notion of data saturation. An appropriate sample consisting of the best participants in terms of knowledge of the research topic “ensures efficient and effective saturation of categories, with optimal quality data and minimum loss,” (Morse et al., 2002:18). In other words, once the researcher is satisfied that ‘enough’ informants have been interviewed to account for address usage, and that no new data are being generated, no new subjects will be recruited to participate in the study (Matthews and Ross, 2010). According to Marshall (1996), when new categories, themes or explanations no longer emerge from the data as the study progresses, data saturation has been reached.

The sample size will be taken at the site of the study, namely Hlanganani, a Xitsonga speaking area under Makhado Municipality, Limpopo Province, South Africa. This speech community is made up of nineteen (19) villages, one (1) township and two (2) ‘RDP townships’. The choice of the area is informed by the researcher’s knowledge of the place as a resident of one of the villages.

3.3.2 Data analysis

Once data have been collected, they must be analysed, interpreted, findings made and conclusions drawn. Data analysis is a process of turning the data into “a clear, understandable, insightful, trustworthy and even original analysis,” (Liamputtong, 2009:277). It involves making sense of text data, moving deeper into them in order to understand, represent and make interpretation of their larger meaning (Creswell, 2009). It should be borne in mind that in qualitative research, data analysis and interpretation are closely interwoven as much as they are enmeshed with data collection (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). In the process of analysing the data, the researcher is simultaneously interpreting them because he engages in the active process of simultaneously noting significant data and ignoring insignificant data.

The purpose of an interpretive framework is to understand complex human, cultural and institutional practices from the participants’ perspectives (Marshall, 1996; Hammond and

Wellington, 2013). Data will thus be interpreted with a view to considering “the subjective nature of the world, to treat meaning as socially constructed and to have a special concern with the unique character of human activity and of the agency which creates social action”, (Hammond and Wellington, 2013:90) through the use of the address system in Xitsonga. Thus the results of the present research will take the form of prose (Locke et al., 2010).

There are five types of data analysis, namely content analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, semiotic analysis and thematic analysis (Liamputtong, 2009). In the case of this study, thematic analysis has been chosen as the appropriate type of data analysis. Thematic analysis can be described as follows:

Qualitative researchers believe that words are more powerful than numbers. Hence content analysis may not be appropriate for most qualitative researchers. A more common type of analysis in qualitative research is thematic analysis, sometimes called interpretive thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data and is perceived as a foundational method for qualitative analysis (Ibid., 2009:284).

It is clear that the uncovering of themes underlying address usage, which is one of the objectives of this study, requires interpretive thematic analysis as a form of data analysis. There are five steps ranging from the specific to the general that will be followed to make thematic analysis of the data in this study. These steps involve multiple levels of analysis (Creswell, 2009). It is important to follow these steps because in crafting the interpretive prose, the researcher will have a voluminous body of raw data in the form of transcripts and field notes from which the analysis will be made.

The first thematic step is to organise, sort, classify or categorise the raw data obtained using semi-structured interviews. This step is designed to prepare for their (raw data) analysis. Categorising involves transcribing the interviews, typing the field notes and arranging the data into different general categories and themes and in terms of their levels of complexity (Creswell, 2009; Liamputtong, 2009). During this initial stage, tough decisions are taken (Tracy, 2013) because the researcher must know what matters because not everything matters (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The second stage involves going through the entire data in order to get a general sense of the ideas expressed in them by the participants. This step involves possible interpretations of the data, by among others, listening to the tone of the ideas as expressed by the informants.

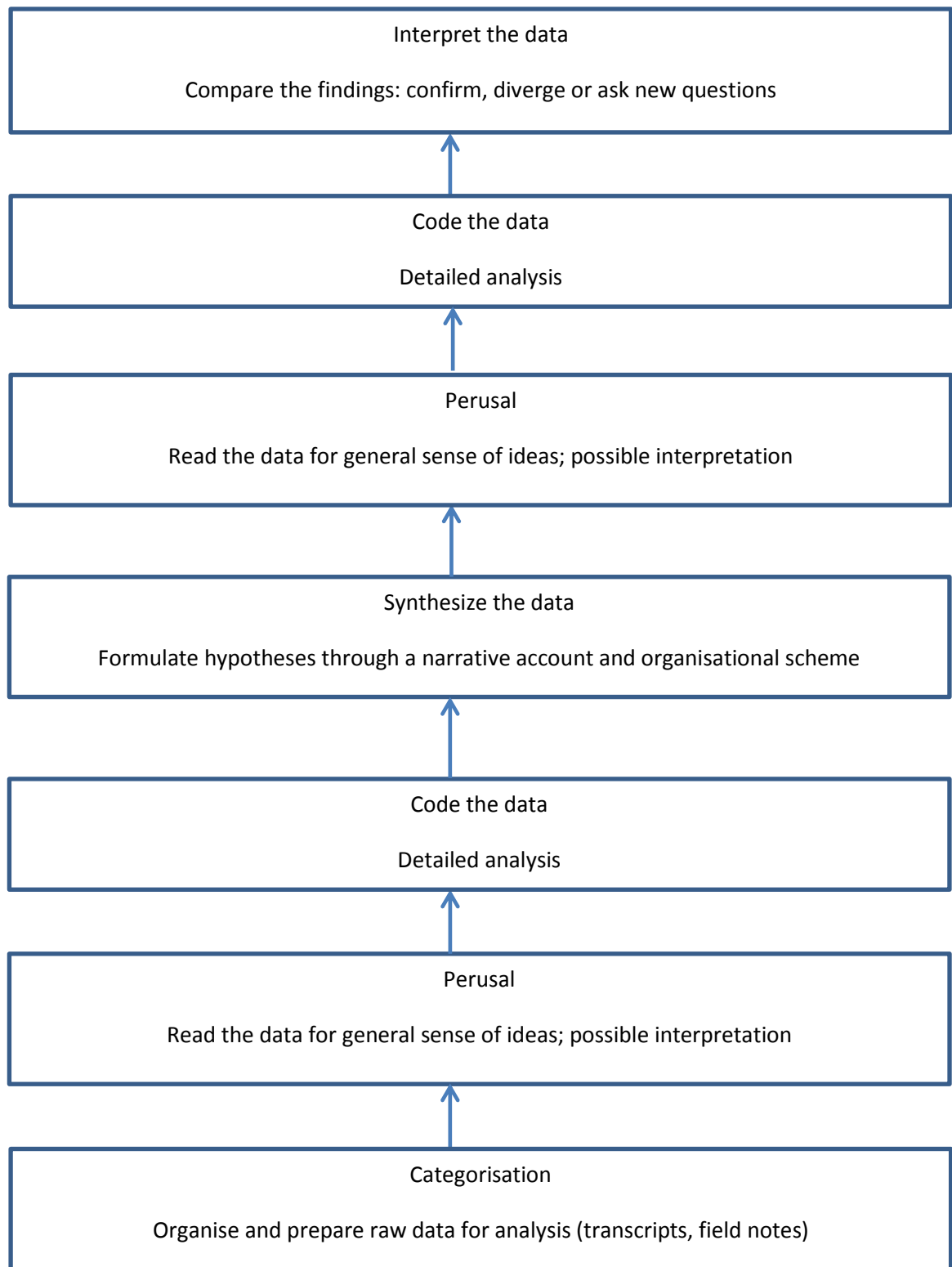
In the third step, detailed analysis of the data should be undertaken through a process of coding, which plays a major role in thematic analysis (Liamputtong, 2009). Coding refers to “the process of organising the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information” (Rossman and Rallis, 1998 in Creswell, 2009). It refers to the labelling, systematisation and organisation of the data together by making connections between major and subcategories (Liamputtong, 2009; Tracy, 2013). In this sense, coding enables the generation of meaningful categories or themes through the segmentation of the data collected into well-organised sentences and paragraphs. The themes constitute the major findings in qualitative inquiries and should thus display multiple perspectives from the informants (Creswell, 2009). The categories will then be labelled with terms befitting them. The codes will not only address the research question and objectives of the study. They will also focus on both the theoretical perspectives and the reviewed literature of the research as identified in chapters one and two, respectively.

Step four of thematic analysis involves the integration and summary of data through mainly inductive reasoning (see Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). It is in this phase that prepositions or hypotheses that describe and synthetise relationships among the categories will be offered. It is also in this phase that the data will be packaged in the form of an organisational scheme of tables, figures, diagrams, formulas and hierarchies (Ibid., 2005; Creswell, 2009).

The final step will involve making an interpretation or understanding of the data (Ibid., 2009). The meaning of the data will include the researcher’s understanding of the data, taking into account the researcher’s and the participants’ culture, history and experiences, among others. During this phase, the researcher will, again, make comparisons of the findings with data gleaned from both the reviewed literature and the theories underlying the study, that is, besides the objectives of the study. It is important to constantly find out whether the findings confirm or diverge from the literature and or theoretical frameworks. The findings may, in addition, suggest new questions that need to be answered – from both the theoretical exposition and the literature review. New questions may suggest answers requiring the development of new theories that may best respond to the present context of address usage in Xitsonga or even in other (African) languages.

The five steps that will be used in the interpretive thematic analysis of the data can be diagrammatically represented as in figure 3.1, borrowed from both Leedy and Ormrod (2005) and Creswell (2009):

Figure 3.1 Data analysis in the study



Adopted from: Leedy (2005) and Creswell (2009)

Figure 3.1 shows a linear hierarchical analysis of the data building upwards, bottom to the top. In practice, however, data analysis will be a more interactive and flexible process, showing the interrelationships that hold between the various stages (Marshall, 1996). Furthermore, data analysis requires ‘reflexive interpretation’ involving the examination of how theoretical, cultural and political contexts and intellectual involvement of the participants affects their interactions with others (Carcary, 2009).

3.4 CRITERIA FOR ENSURING THE RIGOUR OF THE RESEARCH

Qualitative research must ensure quality similar to reliability and validity in quantitative research (Liamputtong, 2009): it must demonstrate integrity, competence, clarity, completeness and legitimacy of the research process. It must meet the criterion of replication by other researchers (Christensen et al., 2011). Replication refers to “the act of recreating or reproducing an earlier study to see if its results can be repeated,” (Beins, 2009:77). Rigour refers to the care and effort with which the research is carried out in order to meet the required standard (Tracy, 2013). Rigour requires the researcher to apply due diligence and to practise his craft effectively in terms of time, effort and thoroughness. “Without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility,” (Morse et al., 2002:14). The strength of the qualitative approach is its ability to enable understanding and explanation of phenomena in similar settings (Walsh and Downe, 2005).

Four criteria have been proposed to judge the merits, credibility, authenticity, rigour or trustworthiness of qualitative research, and these are (Liamputtong, 2009, Hammond and Wellington, 2013):

- (1) Credibility and authenticity
- (2) Transferability or applicability
- (3) Dependability
- (4) Conformability

“Credibility and authenticity are used to determine whether the research is genuine, reliable, or authoritative,” (Liamputtong, 2009:21). It implies a fit between what the participants say and the representation of their perspectives by the researcher. The research must give

testimony of the trustworthiness of the research findings. The multiple realities given by the informants must be represented as accurately and adequately as possible.

Transferability or applicability requires the findings and the insight generated in the study's context to be generalised or applied to other individuals or contexts (Hammond and Wellington, 2013). In other words, a study must be able to be compared to others. "Transferability conveys that the theoretical knowledge obtained from qualitative research can be applied to other similar individuals, groups, or situations," (Liamputtong, 2009:22). Applicability or generalisability as applied in qualitative research is different from its application in positivist science (quantitative research) in which case it relates to the external validity of the findings. Social contexts are too complex to be reduced to a limited list of generalisable variables, and thus it is not possible to replicate qualitative studies in the same way as in natural science because social research deals with human agency which cannot be generalised (Hammond and Wellington, 2013).

Dependability requires a fit between the research findings and the data from which the former have been derived. This requires the research process to exhibit logic, traceability and clear documentation (Liamputtong, 2009).

Confirmability, on the other hand, ensures that the findings and the interpretation of these findings can be confirmed by another study (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). The findings should not derive from the researcher's imagination; they should be clearly linked to the data gathered (Liamputtong, 2009). This requires that the reader should be able to see how the logical inferences and interpretations were made. The findings should thus to a large degree be determined by the informants and the conditions of the inquiry and not merely by the biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the researcher. Thus, confirmability ensures transparency of the process (Walsh and Downe, 2005) because it enhances the strength of the assertions made by the researcher (Marshall and Rossman, 2006) which requires a "self-critically and openly delineated," (Tracy, 2013:234) research process.

An audit trail has been suggested as a strategy to establish the credibility, authenticity, dependability and confirmability of the findings of this qualitative research, leading to the rigour of the whole research. The use of audit trail implies the use of external auditors. Creswell (2009:192) writes the following about the role of an external auditor:

This auditor is not familiar with the researcher or the project and can provide an objective assessment of the project throughout the process of research or at the conclusion of the study. The role is similar to that of a fiscal auditor, and specific questions exist that auditors might ask. The procedure of having an independent investigator look over many aspects of the project enhances the overall validity of a qualitative study.

It is apparent that an audit trail is a strategy that enables readers to see how the researcher has carried out his research and come up with his interpretations and findings (Liamputtong, 2009). Carcary (2009) identifies two benefits of the auditing process. The first is that the researcher is able to reflect on how the study unfolded. Besides, an auditing trail assists the reader to follow every stage followed in the research process, including the inherent logic. In this way, other researchers will be able to “determine whether a study’s findings may be relied upon as a platform for further inquiry and as a basis for decision making,” (Ibid., 2009:16).

In a similar vein, Morse et al. (2002) contend that an audit trail allows external reviewers to proclaim the rigour of the research after its completion. This strategy therefore shifts the responsibility of ensuring rigour from the researcher to the reader or consumer of the qualitative study. Hence, it is proposed that rather than wait for external auditors to make judgement on the merit of the inquiry, trustworthiness of process should be implemented by the investigator during the research process through verification strategies which place the investigator at the centre of the research process.

In the words of Carcary (2009), the qualitative researcher should be accountable for the quality and claims of the research. Verification is “the process of checking, confirming, making sure, and being certain,” (Morse et al., 2002:17) of the process followed during the research. The goal of using verification mechanisms is to incrementally make meaningful contribution in the research with a view to ensuring reliability and validity and thus, the rigour of the research, culminating in a transparency of process (Walsh and Downe, 2005). This hypothesis finds resonance in Creswell (2009) who argues that validation of findings should occur throughout the research process.

Morse et al. (2002) identify five verification strategies of ensuring the reliability and validity of the research process with the overall goal of bringing about the rigour of the research. The

first verification strategy is methodological coherence. In the case of this study, the researcher's choice of the interpretive framework in the form of a qualitative research design to explore the address system in Xitsonga is geared towards ensuring methodological coherence. In other words, the choice has ensured congruity between address usage and semi-structured interviews as data collection methods. Thus rather than a linear approach, the research follows an interactive and flexible method with every issue subject to modification and expansion in every step of the way.

Secondly, the sample of 29 purposively selected participants is based on the saturation of categories of best informants in terms of the set criteria selected for data collection. Thirdly, for the purpose of mutual interaction between what is already known about the address usage and what still need to be known, data will be collected and analysed concurrently.

The fourth strategy requires that in conveying the findings of the study, the researcher will think theoretically using rich, thick or detailed description of the themes (Creswell, 2009; Tracy, 2013). This calls on the researcher to constantly reconfirm, check and verify new data against emerging data while simultaneously taking into account multiple micro and macro perspectives of the informants. Related to this strategy is one that requires the development of theory. In order to develop a well-informed, comprehensive, logical and consistent theory that accounts for address usage in Xitsonga, it is important to consider the interface between the micro but multiple perspectives of the data and the macro but multiple conceptual or theoretical understanding of both the data and its findings (Morse et al., 2002).

In addition to the five verification strategies of the process, Creswell (2009) and Tracy (2013) discuss other strategies of ensuring validity. The first of these is that the researcher should clarify the bias that he or she brings to the study. Bias will be clarified by making an open and honest self-reflection or comments about how the interpretation of the findings will, to a certain extent, be shaped by the researcher's background: his gender, culture, history and socioeconomic origin or class. Self-reflexivity relates to "an honest and authentic awareness of one's own identity and research approach, and attitude of respect for participants, audience members, and other research stakeholders," (Ibid., 2013:233).

Yet another strategy is to present negative or discrepant information that runs contrary to the prevailing view or emerging themes (Creswell, 2009). People do not think alike; different perspectives bring about a more realistic picture of results. Valid research can also be brought about by spending prolonged time with the participants in the field of research (Ibid., 2009;

Tracy, 2013). This has the positive outcome of amassing an in-depth understanding of address behaviour and thus a more credible account of address choice. What is more, peer debriefing will be used to enhance the accuracy of the research. This involves asking a peer debriefer to review and asks questions about the study. A peer debriefer is a person who is familiar with the narrative account (Xitsonga address usage) and is therefore different from an external auditor (Creswell, 2009).

Clearly, ensuring the rigour of the research largely lies squarely in the hands of “the researcher’s creativity, sensitivity, flexibility and skill in using the verification strategies that determine the reliability and validity of the evolving study,” ensuring its rigour (Mors et al., 2002: 17). Walsham (2006) in Carcary (2009) states that the researcher’s best tool for analysis is his or her own mind. The researcher of the present study has clarified, in detail, the standards and the verification strategies that will be used in the study to achieve reliability and validation, and thus, ensure the rigour of the process. The application of verification standards will hopefully allow readers or consumers of this study to see how decisions have been made, the grounds for making them, and how interpretations and findings have been arrived at, and conclusions drawn. Apart from using the inherent verification strategies in the research process, a peer debriefer and an external auditor will be located to validate and to make an audit of the research process: data, interpretations, findings, conclusions and recommendations.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Qualitative research involves researchers and informants and is based on mutual trust and cooperation between the two groups (Sarantakos, 1997). It is also based on promises, conventions and expectations as the outcome of the research project. The research process, therefore, gives researchers few limits and much freedom for action. This freedom of action, can, however, have adverse effects on the participants. Ethics is a crucial component of a rigorous qualitative research, more so given the close interaction and relationship between the researcher and the participants during data collection, especially in the light of the factor of unstructured, and therefore, unpredictable nature of qualitative research methods (Liamputtong, 2009).

Ethics is defined as a set of moral principles or rules by which people and societies maintain moral standards (Matthews and Ross, 2010). The aim of ethics is to prevent the participants in the research from being harmed by both the researcher and the research process. Three broad codes of ethics that a researcher should take care of can be identified ((Sarantakos, 1997; Creswell, 2009; Liamputtong, 2009; Matthews and Ross, 2010; Tracy, 2013), and these are:

- (1) informed consent
- (2) privacy and confidentiality
- (3) risk and harm

Informed consent is based on the understanding that the researcher must provide information to the participants about “the purpose of the research, its procedures, potential risks, benefits, and alternatives, so that the individual understands this information and can make a voluntary decision whether to enrol and continue to participate,” (Liamputtong, 2009:34). The research participants must understand what they are consenting to partake in without prejudice (Matthews and Ross, 2010). They must be aware of the reasons why the research is being done, what the practical implications of the research are, and that their participation is voluntary, and thus, they have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research. Ethics is thus based on the principle of individualism and free will of the participants (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). It is aimed at respecting the dignity and worth of every individual and his right to self-determination. It is therefore a means of protecting the participants in the research from harm or exploitation by the researcher.

Free and informed consent also implies that the participants should not be pressured or deceived in any way to participate in the research (Sarantakos, 1997). It is therefore crucially important for the researcher to inform them about the nature and goals of the study before they are requested to take part in the research project. The researcher of the present study will obtain informed consent (see Appendix B) from the participants before the commencement of the interviews. This entails making a full disclosure of the nature of the study subsequent to which the participants will be required to read and sign an informed consent form (Creswell, 2009). The researcher will read out the details of the consent form to the illiterate participants in order to secure a verbal consent from them.

The aim of confidentiality is to conceal the true identity and to ensure the privacy and anonymity of the participants (Liamputtong, 2009). Confidentiality is based on the principle of respect for autonomy of individuals in terms of keeping their identity unknown (Christensen et al., 2011). In view of this principle, the participants have the right to decide who should know about their private lives, including the revelation of their names or any other form of identification in the research (Sarantakos, 1997; Marshall and Rossman, 2006). The revelation of the participants' private lives may result in serious physical, emotional or social harm not only to the subjects, but also to the community or even the society. In the case of social harm, social problems may emanate from the research. Consequently, the researcher is required to take responsibility to ensure that the subjects' participation in the research does not adversely affect them (Liamputtong, 2009).

It is therefore necessary to refrain from revealing the participants' identities. Instead, where necessary, pseudonyms or fictitious names will be used in field notes, transcripts, in reference to the villages where they come from, and in the research report itself when discussing their verbatim explanations. In other contexts the participants' identities will be avoided altogether.

Confidentiality includes respecting their right not to answer certain questions in context where the informants are not comfortable to do so (Sarantakos, 1997). The right to privacy equally applies in situations where the researcher has a duty to enter the participants' private sphere. The data collected from the subjects must be used by the researcher only and only for study purposes (Christensen et al., 2011).

3.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to make a meaningful collection of the data, the researcher formulated 14 questions (see Interview Guide in Appendix C). The questions are based on the objectives of the study. They are designed to gain understanding of the socio-cultural rules, values, expectations and practices underlying address usage in Xitsonga dyadic encounters from the participants. They are also designed to gain understanding of the impact of address forms on the different interpersonal relationships between interlocutors in different face-to-face interactions.

Besides questions on the informants' profile (name, age, gender, marital status, occupation and education) (see Appendix A), the questions are divided into five groups based on the different dyads in which address forms are used by interlocutors during a conversation. The four dyadic encounters are familial, extended familial, in-law conversation and non-familial contexts. There is a further grouping of questions focusing on the factors that determine address behaviour in face-to-face interactions between interlocutors. Each question is followed by further probing questions for clarity purposes and for further details.

3.7 REPORT WRITING

The research report is the face of the investigation. As a result, the primary goal of the report is to reflect both the research process and the research outcomes as accurately, precisely, adequately and effectively as possible from the beginning up to the last chapter (Sarantakos, 1997, Christensen et al., 2011). The study should thus be clearly and explicitly reported, in terms of both structure and content. Thus, the report of the present study comprises a number of chapters. These are general introduction; literature review; research methodology (the present chapter); research results; analysis and interpretation of research results; and findings, conclusions and recommendations.

3.8 SUMMARY

This chapter examined the research methodology employed in the study. It identified the research design and strategy that the researcher believes is the most appropriate for the study. The section on data collection and analysis was divided into data collection and data analysis. It was in the former subsection that focus was given to types of data, the data collection method, population, sampling and sample size. In the data analysis subsection, the interpretive thematic analysis was chosen as a type of data analysis strategy most appropriate for this type of study. Attention was also paid to criteria that will be used to ensure the rigour of the research. The two sections that followed looked at ethical considerations and report writing. The chapter concludes with this section on summary.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the results of the data gathered during the semi-structured interviews with the participants are presented. Attention is paid to the informants' responses to the questions. Lastly, the summary will give a summary of the results.

4.2 Responses from the informants

The data focused on the socio-pragmatic use of address forms by Xitsonga speaking informants living in Hlanganani area, Limpopo Province, South Africa in dyadic encounters. Twenty-nine (29) participants purposefully selected in terms of age, gender, educational level, marital status and occupation participated in the study.

Out of this number, there are 14 male and 15 female participants. There are 7 youth (ages 18-35), 11 middle-aged participants (ages 36-54) and 11 elderly participants (between the ages of 55-75). Of the 29 participants, 6 are unmarried and the rest (23) are either married or widowed. In terms of educational qualifications, 5 of the participants have no education at all, 4 have a primary school education, 1 has a secondary education, 7 have a post matric education (i.e a post matric certificate or diploma), 9 have completed or are completing an undergraduate degree, and 3 hold a postgraduate diploma or degree.

In terms of occupational distribution, there are 8 educators (1 retired teacher, 1 primary school principal, 1 secondary school principal and 5 post level 1 educators), 6 students, 5 pensioners, 2 housewives, 2 labourers, 1 village chief, 1 businessman, 1 pastor, 1 ABET practitioner, 1 nurse and 1 medical practitioner.

The interviews are conducted in Xitsonga. Thus, the participants are required to specify the actual address or reference term(s) that they use in their daily interactions to address or to refer to their addressees or referents (in specific contexts). This section pays attention to responses from the informants. These responses are presented in subsections 4.2.1 to 4.2.14 below.

4.2.1 Types of forms of address used in familial and non-familial contexts

This section answers question 1 (see Appendix C). The section is divided into four subsections as follows:

(a) Address often used to family members

Interactions occur between family members, that is, spouses, parents and children, and brothers and sisters.

The data indicated that all 29 participants use kinship terms and the plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*) to address their fathers. There are two second person pronominal forms in Xitsonga. These pronouns, together with their respective honorifics, are illustrated in figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1: The second person pronoun in Xitsonga

Pronoun	Person	Honorific present	Honorific past
<i>Wena</i>	2 nd person singular	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>N'wina</i>	2 nd person plural	<i>mi</i>	<i>a</i>

The second person pronominal system has a small functional load in Xitsonga (see Hwang, 1991). It is not syntactically an integrated part of the sentence. It is, therefore, not sensitive to extralinguistic situations. It is, however, the honorific and the non-honorific that have a larger functional load because they are always part of the sentence. The pronouns, in contrast with English, are frequently omitted when they are integrated parts of the sentence. In the following example, the pronominal form is absent:

U ta ya rini ekaya Risimati?

NON-HON will go home when Risimati?

When are you going home Risimati?

The results further indicate that there are two main forms of kinship terms used to address father, namely *papa* and *bava*. It is found that all the male youth research participants, aged 18, 27 and 34 generally prefer the term *papa* (father). Out of the seven middle-aged men who partook in the study only two (47 and 54) use *bava* in address to their father. The former is an educator, and the latter is a labourer with only a primary education. Three of the four elderly male participants think that *papa* (father) is the right term to address one's father; only one a labourer (61), is of the view that *bava* is the correct term for father.

Like the male youth, the female participants overwhelmingly prefer the term *papa* to address the person of father. Similarly, all the middle-aged female participants, three educators and one housewife use the same term to address their male parents. The elderly female subjects are split in the middle in their preference for either *bava* or *papa*. Six participants all of whom pensioners aged 69, 70 and 75 prefer *bava*, three, aged 55, 56 and 74 use *papa* and one (66) uses *tatana*. It appears that the younger informants are keen to use *papa* as opposed to *bava* which is the preferred term for the older women.

While there are two main terms used to address the notion of father in Xitsonga, there is virtually only one term to its opposite, mother, namely *mhani*. Both the male and female informants across the age, gender, educational, marital status and occupational divide use this term to address mother. Once more, the term is accompanied by the SN/HON *mi*. There is one exception though. The 22-year old female student subject indicates that she alternates equally between *mhani* and *mama* in different contexts.

Married female participants use one of the two terms, namely *bava* and *papa* to address their husbands. Within the middle-aged women, *papa* is the preferred term to address husbands,

with one only subject indicating that she talks directly to her husband by using his FN. On a similar note, the 32-year old young female student uses the TM *papa X* to address her husband. Further, within the elderly female subjects, the 56-year old teacher informant also uses the FN to her husband. However, the majority of the female participants within the elderly group prefer *bava*. There are also two subjects (55 and 56) who think that a husband should be addressed as *papa*.

Men are divided about how to properly address their wives. This is evidenced by the data. Of the seven middle-aged male participants who took part in the study, two say that they use FNs to address their wives, another two prefer the TM *mhana X* (mother of X), one uses the TM *n'wa-X* (daughter of X) and a pastor (43) addresses his wife by the English DT 'honey'. Clearly, there appears to be a tendency to address wives by their TM. Similarly, male participants within the elderly grouping also prefer the TMs *mhana X* and *n'wa-X* in address to their spouses. More importantly, all these men use the singular pronoun *wena* and its accompanying non-honorific in address to their spouses.

Address to family members also includes address to both male and female children. Of the two young male informants (27 and 34) with children of their own, the preferred term is the FN. It should be noted that the use of FNs to address children is often accompanied by the choice of the SW/NON-HON *u*. The 27-year student also uses the informal (shortened) form *mfana* (boy) rather than the full one *mufana* (boy) to address his child. There is overwhelming evidence for the preference for FNs to address children by middle-aged parents as well. The 50-year old primary school principal, however, addresses his out-of-wedlock medical practitioner child by the term *bo'iti*. The respondent, however, admits that this is not the proper way of addressing one's child. Elderly men between the ages of 55-75 also prefer FNs in address to their children. The pensioner (65) respondent, however, claims that he addresses his children by adding both the augmentative and diminutive suffixes to the kinship term *boti* (brother) to make it *botinkulu* (senior brother) and *botintsongo* (junior brother) respectively, when addressing his male children.

The only young female respondent in the study with children of her own also prefer FNs to talk directly to her children. In addition to FNs, middle-aged female subjects also use the KT *boti* (brother) or *sesi* (sister) and kinship term plus first names (KTFNs) *boti X* (brother X) or *sesi X* (sister X) (where X stands for the addressee's FN) to address their children. In this context, the choice of the KT alone is a form of respect to the child whereas KTFNs are used

for identification purposes, and FN indicates the junior status of the child in terms of age. Apart from this, the 36-year old mother (housewife) intimates that she addresses her older girl child as *mhani* (mother) and the rest as *tati* (sister). It also emerges that elderly female participants (56, 69, 70 and 75) largely address their children by their FNs. In some cases, older children are addressed as *boti* or *sesi*. This is testified by the 66-year retired teacher. When the girl child gets married, some mothers, including the pensioner (74), switch to *n'wa-X* (the daughter of X).

Family members may also include brothers and sisters. Evidence collected for the study suggests that young male subjects address their brothers directly by their FNs. In some cases this choice disregards the age of the brother concerned. The 18-year undergraduate student, for instance, addresses both his older and younger brother in this way. Some young adults, such as the student-teacher respondent (34) use kinship terms such as *mkhulu* (older brother) and *mfo* (younger brother) to distinguish between the older and the younger brother, respectively.

Middle-aged male participants also draw a distinction between *mkhulu/boti* and *mfo/FN* to address their respective older and younger brothers. Evidence from the postgraduate secondary school principal (47) attests to this. However, it appears that the common way of making a distinction between the senior and junior brother is the *boti/FN* dichotomy. Another term for older brother from the perspective of elderly male participants (for example, the labourer (61)) is *bavankulu* (senior father) in address to senior brothers, and FN to their younger brothers.

Young female informants also use FNs to address their brothers irrespective of the age differences between the addresser and the addressee. Other popular terms are *boti* to the older brother and *boti X* to the younger one. As attested by the nurse (respondent) (48), the fact that middle-aged female subjects also use the KT *boti* to the older brother indicates its popularity. Only one respondent (40) in this group uses FN, and another subject switches to *malume* (uncle) in address to their older brothers. Finally, the data show that of the five elderly female speakers interviewed, only one, the 56-year old educator, uses FNs to address her brothers and the rest (55, 69, 70 and 74) use the KT *boti*.

The last member of a family is sister. The common term used by the male participants for this member of the family is FN for those younger than the speaker, and *sesi* for the older sisters. Only one respondent among the youth participants addresses his older sister using her FN.

Evidently, middle-aged men such as the 43-year pastor and the 50-year old teacher seem to express the opinion that it is better to address both the older and younger sisters by the KT *sesi*. Others, however, see sisters in terms of age, older (*sesi*) or younger (FN). These subjects include, among others, the primary school principal (50). From the three elderly male participants with sisters, the businessman (72) uses FN, and the labourer (61), in an apparent switching technique, uses *hahani wa X* (aunt of X) to address their sisters (where X stands for the name of the addresser's child).

From the four young female people selected for the interview, only one has an older sister whom she addresses as *sesi*. This form of address also finds common usage by the middle-aged female subjects, including the housewife (36) and the teacher (40). Other terms used by this group are *muhulu* (senior mother) which is a form of address switching in favour of the children by the 53-year educator, and the genitive *n'wana mhani* (my mother's child) by the nurse (48). This view is not different from that of the elderly female informants. Apart from the common *sesi* used by both the housewife (55) and the pensioner (74), the term *tati* (sister), which is the preferred term by the pensioner (69), comes into the equation. The 56-year educator, however, believes that the older sister is *sesi* and the younger sister cannot deserve anything other than the FN.

(b) Address often used to extended family members

Extended family members include paternal grandfathers, paternal grandmothers, maternal grandfathers, maternal grandmothers, mother's brothers, mother's sisters, father's brothers and father's sisters.

The data indicate that there is virtually only one term used to address both the paternal and maternal grannies, namely *kokwana* (granny). One male elderly pensioner respondent (65) argues that when addressing his paternal grandfather, he specifies him as *kokwana X* (where X stands for the granny's FN). The same subject also specifies his paternal grandmother as *kokwana N'wa-X* (grandmother who is the daughter of X), where X stands for her father's FN. The same applies in address to the maternal grandmother. Another variation comes from the 22-year student. The student claims that she addresses her maternal grandfather as *madala* (old man) and her maternal grandmother as *koko* (seemingly, short for *kokwana*). It is important to emphasise that accompanying the choice of each of these address forms is the SN/HON *mi*.

Furthermore, the results indicate that there is only one term used to address one's mother's brother, namely *malume* (uncle). This is in sharp contrast with the variation in addressing one's mother's sister. There is wide consensus among the participants that a speaker's mother's sister is also *mhani* (mother). *Malume* is also addressed by the SN/HON *mi*.

Both the male and female participants across the age, gender, educational, marital status and occupational divides seem to hold the view that one's mother's older sister is *mhanihulu* (senior mother), *mhaninkulu* (senior mother), *muhulu* (senior mother) or *hulu* (senior mother). The augmentative suffixes *-hulu* and *-nkulu* are added to the concept *mhani* to express the seniority of the addressee. On the same note, one's mother's younger sister is addressed by the term *mhanintsongo* (junior mother) in acknowledgement of the fact that she is younger than the speaker's mother. Besides, the female pensioner respondent (69) indicates that she addresses her mother's younger sister as *nhlantswani ya mhani* (my mother's co-wife). This form of address alludes to the fact that in Xitsonga culture a man may marry his wife's younger sister. It is for this reason that others address her simply as *nhlantswani* (mother's co-wife). The use of the terms of address for mother's sister is accompanied by the use of SN/HON *mi*.

The data further show that there are two main terms used to address a speaker's father's brother, namely the KTs *papa* (father) and *bava* (father). Again, the augmentative suffixes *-nkulu* and *-hulu* to form *papankulu* (older father), *papahulu* (older father) or *bavankulu* (senior father) are attached to the nominal to express the age seniority of the father; the diminutive *-ntsongo* is attached to the NP to bring about diminutives *papantsongo* or *bavantsongo* (younger father) to show the age juniority of the addressees. Furthermore, it is evident from the data that the terms *bavankulu* is preferred by both the elderly male participants and the elderly female participants. However, the primary school principal (50) indicates that he prefers the term *son'wani* (younger father) to address his father's younger brother.

All 29 participants claim that there is only one term to address one's father's sister, namely *hahani* (aunt). For identification purposes, the young female student subject (21) says that she addresses her father's younger sister as *hahani X* (aunt X) (where X stands for her (aunt's) FN).

(c) Address often used to in-laws

In-laws include a married man's or woman's father in-law, mother in-law, brother in-law and sister in-law. Since the young male participants have a 'single' marital status, they were exempted from participation in this aspect. In terms of the data collected from the other participants, there are two lexical items used to address the father in-law. The majority of the middle-aged male participants appear to prefer *papa* (father) in address to their father in-law. It can be revealed that only the 54-year old subject uses *bava* (father) to address his father in-law. The number increases to four male informants when the elderly men, namely the chief (59), the labourer (61) and the pensioner (65), who also prefer this form of address, are added.

The only married young female subject (32) also addresses her father in-law as *papa*. It can be seen that the preference for *papa* by the middle-aged male participants is supported by the middle-aged female participants. Once again, like their male counterparts, elderly female participants show preference for *bava* in address to their father in-law. So in short, while there are two terms used to address the concept of father in-law, there is only one term for mother in-law, namely *mhani*.

There seems to be no consensus on how both the male and female participants address their brothers in-law. The male youngsters selected for the study are unmarried: so they were excluded from participation in this question. There appears to be overwhelming evidence that the middle-aged male participants consider their brother in-law to be a *sivara* (brother in-law). This is irrespective of his age in relation to his sister whose marriage brought about the relationship. The labourer respondent (54), however, postulates that only his wife's younger brother is *sivara*; the older brother is *papa* (father). This view resonates with that of some of the elderly male interviewees. In fact, this latter grouping is split down the middle in terms of what it considers the appropriate term between *papa* and *sivara* to address their brother in-law. Out of the four elderly male interviewees, the businessman (72) and the chief (59) are in favour of the address *papa* and the other two, the labourer (61) and the pensioner (65) prefer *bava*.

It is also observed that female participants address their brothers in-law slightly differently from their male counterparts. The only married young woman (32) in the study states that she addresses her older and younger brothers in-law by the respective *papankulu* (senior father) and *papantsongo* (junior father) depending on their seniority or juniority in terms of their

ages in relation to her husband. This view is shared by both the middle-aged and elderly female informants. In addition, the middle-aged female subjects propose that the right terms to address one's brother in-law are *bavankulu* and *bavantsongo*, as informed by their ages in relation to their brothers. This view finds similar expression with three of the two elderly female participants (55, 70 and 75) who shared their views with the researcher.

As in address to the brother in-law, there are marked differences in the way in which male and female subjects address their sisters in-law. None of the young male adults interviewed are married, so they do not have sisters in-law. The following are the various forms of address used by the middle-aged male group to address their respective older and younger sisters in-law: *mhani/sivara*, *sesi/skhwiza*, *muhulu/sivara* and *vakon'wana/nhlantswa*. The second term of the pair in each case indicates that the male addresser can make the addressee his second wife. It should be borne in mind, however, that two subjects in this group, the secondary primary school teacher (47) and the primary school principal (50) opine that the age of the sister in-law has no value in addressing her and thus she is also a *sivara*.

However, according to the elderly male subjects, the age of the sister in-law vis-à-vis that of her sister does indeed, matter. On the one hand, one's wife's older sister is treated in the same way one treats his mother in-law and is thus addressed similarly as *mhani* (mother). A man's wife's younger sister, on the other hand, is *namu* or *sivara* (sister in-law). The concept of *namu* is brought into the picture by the businessman (72) and the labourer (61). This lexical item illustrates the young woman's status as an heir to her older sister as her husband's second wife. Hence, the concept of *namu* also implies her status as a co-wife.

The only married young female adult (32) in the study sees age as a determiner in the differential terms used to address her sisters in-law. In her point of view, the older sister in-law is *hahani* and the younger one is *skoni*. Middle-aged female research participants, including the housewife (36), the educators (40 and 53), the nurse (48) make the point that nowadays the term *hahani* (aunt) is used synonymously as a form of switching with the original terms for both the older or the younger sister in-law from women's perspectives, namely *mihariva* and *n'wamaxalani*.

In line with this thinking, the elderly female research interviewees concur that the terms *hahani* and *vahahani* have become equivalent to *mihariva* and *n'wamaxalani*. The retired teacher (66) is emphatic that *vahahani* is the correct term to address a sister in-law irrespective of her age vis-à-vis her husband's (the addresser's).

(d) Address often used to non-family members

Non-family members selected for the study are boyfriends/girlfriends, neighbours, friends and strangers. On the one hand, the information gathered from the participants show that girlfriends generally address their boyfriends by their FNs. On the other hand, in addition to FNs, one variation among boyfriends is the use of the concept ‘baby’ in address to their girlfriends. Another variation can be found from the student-teacher (34). He claims, for instance, that he addresses his girlfriend by the term ‘madam’.

Neighbours, friends and strangers can be male or female. The young male informants assert that where the male neighbour is old enough to be their father, *papa* (father) is the ideal address. Other appropriate forms from the young adults’ perspectives are *makhe/makhi* (short for *makhelwani*) (neighbours) or ‘Mr X’. While *papa*, *makhe/makhi* or its full form *makhelwani* are common among the middle-aged male participants, others prefer *kokwana LN* (granny LN) or the LN alone. The last group, the elderly male subjects, sees *makhe* as the best address form to call one’s male neighbour. The businessman (72), however, believes that FNs are the right modes of address to one’s male neighbours.

Evidence suggests a different narrative when it comes to female participants’ usage of address to male neighbours. There appears, for example, to be no consensus in terms of how young women between the ages of 18-35 address male strangers. The address terms used range from *papa LN*, *boti/FN* and *kokwana FN*. The common denominator in these address forms is that except where the addressee is seen as a *boti* (brother) or as FN, an additional LN is used with the KT, resulting in kinship term plus last name (KTLN).

Older women in their late thirties, forties and early fifties also differ in the way they address their male neighbours. Some of their chosen terms are *makhe*, *bava X* (father X), *papa X* (father X) and *vamakhelwani* (neighbour). The latter is also preferred by the elderly women. Moreover, these women also prefer the use of LN alone and the KT *bava* (father) alone. However, the 56-year old high school Xitsonga teacher had better address her male neighbour by his FN.

It may be assumed that address to male participants is different from one to female ones. In terms of the data, young men between the ages of 18-35 prefer addressing women who are old enough to be their mothers as *mhani* (mother) and their peers as *makhe* (neighbour). The former is also popular with the middle-aged group, using variations such as *mhani LN*, *mhani FN* and *mhana X*. The KT *makhe* is also used as a full form (*makhelwani*) by this group. Out

of the three elderly male participants who were part of the study, *makhe* emerges as the favourite, that is, in comparison with *manana X* by these speakers.

From the information gathered, it appears that young women participants seem not keen to address their female neighbours as *makhe* or *makhelwani*. Instead, preference is given to *mhani* for older addressees, *kokwana X* (granny X) (where X stands for her FN) for elderly women and FN to their peers. Middle-aged women had better use *makhelwani*, *makhe X*, *mhani* or *mhani X* to address their female neighbours. Similar patterns can be observed with the choice of address to female neighbours by the elderly female informants. A different view is expressed by the pensioner (74), claiming that she addresses her female neighbour by the term *vachomi* (my friend).

Friends can be male or female. In terms of evidence at the researcher's disposal, young men between the ages of 18-35 use FNs and NNs/DTs to address their male friends. Another common address type is the KT *chomi* (friends). FNs are also popular choices by the middle-aged male subjects in address to their male friends. Advocates here include the labourer (54), the teachers (47 and 50) and the school principals (47 and 50). The elderly male subjects seem to have no common address choice. Their choices range from FNs to LNs, *munghana* (friend) and *mata* (pensioner (65)).

All young women who participated in the study show preference for the FN in direct conversation with their male friends. By contrast, middle-aged women see the use of LNs as the most appropriate way to address their male friends. But the primary school teacher who is in her early 40s states that she addresses her male friend as *chom* (friend). Furthermore, the elderly women's apparent choice of the KTs *bava* (father) and *boti* (brother) can be regarded as a traditional approach to address usage. The choice between *bava* and *boti* is based on the age of the addressee versus that of the speaker. *Bava* is used to older male addressees and *boti* to the younger ones. One of the elderly participants (56) indicates that to her, every friend, male or female, is FN.

There is not much difference between address directed to female friends from one to their male counterparts. The young male participants in the study, for example, hypothesise that it is not improper to address women friends by their FNs or by the KT *munghana* (friend). The 27-year old student-teacher claims that he addresses his female friends by the English genitive 'my sister'. In addition to *mhani X* (mother X) or *sesi X* (sister X) where X stands for the addressee's FN, middle-aged men argue that the proper address to female friends lies in

the use of FNs. The proponents of this view include the labourer (54), the school teachers (47 and 50) and the secondary school principal (47). The choice of either one is based on age differences between the interlocutors. The pastor (43) sees nothing wrong with addressing his female friends by the KT *muprofeta* (prophet). Elderly men in their late 50s and above had better use, yet again, FNs and the KT *munghana*.

It appears that the theme of FNs in addressing friends runs through the vocabulary of quite a sizeable number of female participants. The term *munghana* is also popular among all the womenfolk. Within the middle-aged and the apparently more traditional elderly female subjects, the KT *mhani* (mother) also finds its common usage. Other forms within the former group are *maseve* and *munghana*; and within the elderly group are *kokwana* (granny) and *hahani* (aunt).

The variable of age is manifested more strongly in address to strangers. The young male participants of the research, for instance, express the view that when they come across a male stranger, their option of address forms pivot between *papa* (father) and *boti* (brother) depending on the apparent age of the addressee vis-à-vis that of the speaker, where the former term will be used to the older addressee and the latter to the younger one. Among the supporters of this idea are middle-aged men, including the labourer (50), the ABET practitioner (38), the school teacher (50) and the primary school principal (50). But according to the undergraduate primary school teacher (47), *malume* (uncle) is the appropriate address term because it is less offensive than *papa* or *bava*. In support, the chief (59) makes the case that *papa* is an emotional term. The postgraduate secondary school principal (47), however, is of the view that every stranger man should be *papa* (father) because *malume* expresses an extended family member or a relative. The 61-year labourer claims that there is nothing offensive in addressing stranger men by either *bava* (father) or *malume* (uncle). The choice is entirely the speaker's. The pastor (43), however, says that the most neutral term is *makwenu* (brother) which is actually the formal term for brother or sister.

Young people within women subjects also advocate age determination in one's choice of address to male strangers. But the 21-year old student argues that in some contexts, it is important to avoid the use of address terms altogether. One avoidance strategy is the use of humbling expressions. For example:

A ndzi kombela ku vutisa ndlela.

HUM I request to ask way.

I am asking for direction.

In the above expression, the speaker avoids using the address form through a humbling expression. The aim of the use of this type of construction is to lower oneself and to simultaneously raise the stranger by avoiding addressing him directly by any of the address forms at the speaker's disposal.

Choices of address terms by elderly women in terms of the relative age of the addressee resolve around *bava* (father) and *malume* (uncle). Supporters of this line of thinking include the retired teacher (66) and the pensioners aged 69, 74 and 75.

According to women participants, age is also a factor in address behaviour. In fact, all the young women study participants ranging in age from 18 to 35 believe that in deciding between *mhani* (mother) and *sesi* (sister), it is important to make judgement about the relative age of the stranger. A younger woman would typically be addressed as *sesi* (sister), and an older one as *mhani* (mother). Middle-aged participants are split between the choice of *mhani* alone and the use of either *mhani* or *sesi* as determined by the relative age of the specific female stranger. The same ambivalence can be noted with the elderly participants. Besides the *mhani/sesi* dichotomy, other additional terms preferred by elderly subjects are *hahani* (aunt) and *kokwana* (granny). While the retired teacher (66) views *hahani* as an alternative to *mhani*, the medical practitioner makes the case that to address a stranger as *hahani* is insulting. It is, however, clear that the use of *kokwana* to address older female strangers signals that the older the person, the more address changes to suit the age of the addressee.

4.2.2 Types of forms of reference often used in familial and non-familial contexts

This section answers question 2 in Appendix C. The section discusses specific terms of reference that a speaker often uses when he or she is referring to family members, extended family members, in-laws and non-family members. Hence, the section is subdivided into four subsections as outlined below:

(a) Terms often used to family members

Apart from address, reference occurs between family members: spouses, parents and children, and brothers and sisters. The data indicate that as in address, names are avoided in reference to the concept of father. The address forms *papa* and *bava* remain popular in reference to the father, with variation among the research participants. In addition, all 29 participants in the study include the use of the plural second person *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*) in reference to their fathers. Young men between the ages of 18-35 prefer the terms *papa* (father) and the genitive *papa mina* (my father) in reference. In addition to *papa*, middle-aged men (ages 36-54) tend to refer to their fathers as *mukhalabye* (old man). A case in point is the 47-year old secondary school principal. The concept *bava* also has a showing within this group as much as it finds common usage by elderly men.

Unsurprisingly, like the young male subjects, the young female informants appear to overwhelmingly prefer the address term *papa* and to some extent the genitive construction *papa mina* (my father) in reference to father. However, middle-aged participants had better use *papa* as their preferred form of reference, and the elderly female participants tend to use *bava* (father) more than they would use *papa* as their favourite term of reference. Once more, it would emerge that the more educated elderly female subjects think *papa* is more meaningful than *bava*, which is the favourite term for the less educated women.

While it appears that there are various ways of referring to the concept of father, the reference form *mhani* to denote the female parent is widely used across the gender, age, educational, occupational and marital status divide of the subjects. The ABET practitioner (38) claims that in reference, he uses 'ou lady' to refer to his mother. On a similar note, the postgraduate secondary school principal (47) uses the term *mukhegula* (old woman) in reference to his mother. Further, the young university female student (21) refers to her mother by the possessive *mhana mina* (my mother).

There are also divergent opinions with respect to reference to one's husband. The only married 32-year old young woman in the study uses the TM *papa X* (father X) (where X stands for the name of their firstborn) to refer to her husband. Within married female participants in both the middle-aged and the elderly groups, there appears to be variation in the way they refer to their husbands. Whereas the former group uses terms such as LN, *papa* and *papa va muti* (father of the house), the latter is the realm of LN, *bava* (father), *bava LN*

(father LN), *bava va muti* (father of the house) and, according to the 56-year old secondary school teacher, *boti LN* (brother LN).

Judging by available evidence, there seems to be no common forms used by men to refer to their wives. One thing clear though is that unlike in address, men do not refer to their wives by their FNs. In general, the following forms are illustrative: *nsati* (wife), *n'wa-X* (daughter of X), *mhana X* (mother of X) (where X is the name of the firstborn child), *lowa nghamu* (my sweetheart), *mhani va ku sweka* (the mother whose main activity is cooking) and *mhani va ka hina* (the mother who belongs to us). The first three are used by middle-aged men and the last two by elderly informants. It is apparent that the relationship between the man and the woman plays a significant role in how a man will refer to his wife.

It appears that in reference for most parents, just like in address, the normal way is to use FNs to children. The student-teacher (31), however, refers to his child by the possessive *n'wana wa mina* (my child). Equally, the pensioner (65) refers to his children as *botinkulu* (older brother) and *botintsongo* (younger brother). Thus, he uses both augmentative and diminutive suffixes to indicate the seniority or juniority of the brother that he is talking about. The 66-year retired teacher uses the genitive *n'wana wa mina wa xinuna/xisati* (my male/female child) to refer to her children. Of course, other middle-aged parents refer to their older children by the KT *boti* (brother) in an effort to direct the younger children to follow suit. This is the case as well in reference by the elderly women. Other common reference techniques used by female participants are the use of TMs such as *n'wa-X* (the daughter of X) and *papa X* (the father of X) (where the first X stands for her father's FN and the second one for her child's FN).

In a normal nuclear family, the concept of family includes brothers and sisters. Evidently, FNs are common choices in reference to brothers. The data suggest that young men, in particular, have preference for FNs in reference to their brothers, young and old. By contrast, middle-aged participants tend to prefer kinship terms such as *boti* (brother) and *mkhulu* (older brother), and *ndzisana* (younger brother) when referring to their older and the younger brothers, respectively. The elderly 61-year man makes the point that he refers to his older brother by the suffixed KT, *bavankulu* (senior father) and the younger ones by their FNs just like he does in address.

The choice of FNs in reference to brothers is not only the terrain of men. It is also common among young women, with some referring to the senior brother as *boti* and the junior one *boti*

X. The KT *boti* (brother) in reference to one's older brother also finds its common usage among both the middle-aged and elderly women. One informant (36) with a secondary education makes the claim that her brother is nothing less than a *malume* (uncle) because apart from being just a mere relative, she stands to benefit nothing from him. So her definition of *malume*, rather than being one of address switching, is one of any man in the street.

Another member of a family is sister. As in address, the common term used by the young men for this member of the family is FN for those younger than the speaker and *sesi* for the older one. Male informants in the middle-aged group are of the view that the KT *sesi* (sister) better expresses respect to an older sister than FN. Other views are that once she has a child, a sister should be referred to, as she is addressed, by his child's name, *mhana X* (mother of X). The labourer (61), armed with a primary education, intimates that to him, his sister is aunt to his children, and so, he refers to her as *hahani wa X* (aunt of X). X is a placeholder for the name of his child. Within middle-aged women subjects, *sesi* is also a common term of choice. However, one woman teacher in her early 50s claims that she refers to, just as she addresses, her elder sister as *muhulu* (senior mother) in favour of her children. Finally, the 69-year old housewife-cum-pensioner points out that both in address and in reference, her sister is *tati* (sister) and adds that she cannot use *sesi* because it is a loan term from foreign cultures.

(b) Reference often used to extended family members

Under the class of extended family members are paternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, maternal grandmother, the speaker's mother's brother, mother's sister, father's brother and his/her father's sister.

Akin to address, evidence points out that there is virtually one term used to refer to both the paternal and maternal grannies. This term is *kokwana* (granny). The elderly informant (65), who has not attended school beyond the primary level, expresses the view that when referring to his paternal grandfather, he specifies him as *kokwana X* (where X stands for the granny's FN). In the same vein, he is specific in reference to his paternal grandmother as *kokwana N'wa-X* (grandmother who is the daughter of X) (where X stands for her father's FN). Furthermore, he is specific in reference to his maternal grandmother. The 21-year university student also intimates that she uses the terms *madala* (old man) and *koko* (short for *kokwana*)

in reference to her respective maternal grandfather and maternal grandmother as she does in address.

It has been seen that there is only one term used to address mother's brother, namely *malume* (uncle). This situation also obtains in reference. The male respondent (54), however, states that he refers to his mother's brother as *kokwana* (grandfather).

Yet again, one's mother's sister, evidence suggests, is also one's mother or *mhani* (mother), as in address. The participants, male and female, argue that one's mother's older sister is *mhanihulu* (senior mother) or *mhaninkulu* (senior mother). This can be shortened to *muhulu* (senior mother) and further to *hulu* (senior mother). On a similar note, one's mother's younger sister is referred to by the term *mhanintsongo* (junior mother). The addition of the diminutive suffix, *-ntsongo* (small) as opposed to the argumentative *-nkulu* (big) signals the fact that the referent is younger compared to, for instance, *mhaninkulu*, who is older, than the mother whose existence forms the reason for the comparison. One female respondent (69) claims that she refers to her mother's younger sister as *nhlantswani ya mhani* (my mother's co-wife), thus pointing out that the referent can become her mother's co-wife. In so saying, she switches to her mother's point of reference. In other words, she uses the reference term (*nhlantswani*) that should normally be used by her mother.

Similar to address, it is furthermore suggested by the data that the KT's *papa* (father) and *bava* (father) are the two main terms of reference used to one's father's brother. The augmentative suffixes *-nkulu* and *-hulu* are attached to the main NPs *papa* and *bava* to specify the relative ages of the referents in question in relation to those of the speaker. While the referent term *papa* is preferred by younger and middle-aged participants, the term *bava* is commonly used in the lexicon of both the elderly male and the elderly female participants.

There is only one reference term to name one's father's sister, namely *hahani* (aunt). A variation is to specify the aunt who is the subject of the talk, by, for example, referring to her as *hahani X* (aunt X) where X stands for her (aunt's) FN or as *hahaninkulu* (senior aunt), says the labourer (54).

(c) Reference often used to in-laws

There are four types of in-laws: one's father in-law, mother in-law, brother in-law and sister in-law. The reference terms used by men to in-laws are virtually the same as that used in

address. Common reference terms are *papa* (father), *bava* (father) or *vakon'wani* (in-law). Women also use these terms, but in addition, refer to their fathers in-law as *papan'wingi* (father in-law) or *n'wingi* (father in-law) in short. The same can be said about the mother in-law. Both men and women refer to her as *mhani* (mother); women may also use *mhanin'wingi* (mother in-law) or *n'wingi* (mother in-law). It, therefore, becomes apparent that the term *n'wingi* (plural *vingi*) is a feminine term from the speaker's perspective because it is used by women only; it is, however, a gender-neutral term from the referent's perspective, referring to either the father or the mother in-law. This term does not apply in reverse in the sense that men cannot use it to refer to their fathers or mothers in-law.

The terms used to address a brother in-law are the same used to refer to him. The terms *papa* (father) and *bava* (father) are largely used by men to refer to the brother in-law who is older than their wives; the term *sivara* (brother in-law) is used to refer to one younger than the speaker's wife. By contrast, women usually choose to distinguish between their older and younger brothers in-law through a morphological process that allows them to attach the respective augmentative and diminutive suffixes *-nkulu* and *-ntsongo* to the reference terms *papa* and *bava* resulting in *papankulu/bavankulu* and *papankulu/bavantsongo*.

The difference between men and women's speech can also be discerned in the choice of reference terms to sisters in-law. On the one hand, evidence suggests that men tend to refer to the older sister in-law variously as *mhani* (mother), *sesi* (sister), *muholu* (senior mother) and *vakon'wana* (in-law). On the other hand, the younger sister in-law is referred to as *sivara* (in-law) or *nhlantswa* (co-wife) to illustrate the fact that she cannot receive the same deferential treatment given to her older sister.

Moreover, the data show that women refer to their sisters in-law using different vocabulary. As in address, the young mother (32) claims that she refers to her older (older than her husband) sister in-law as *hahani* and the younger one as *skoni*. Other evidence points out that reference terms such *mihariva*, *n'wamaxalani*, *skhwiza* and *hahani* are used interchangeably and thus do not specify the difference in age between the husband and his sisters from the point of view of the speaker.

(d) Reference often used to non-family members

Speakers use distinctive reference forms to boyfriends/girlfriends, neighbours, friends and strangers. It is suggested in this study that generally, young men refer to their girlfriends by their FNs. In some occasions they may refer to them as *nsati wa mina* (my wife), *cheri ya mina* (my girlfriend) and so on depending on, among others, the relationship and age difference between the speaker and the addressee. Evidently, young women, on the contrary, tend to use FNs to refer to their boyfriends.

Both young male and young female subjects prefer referring to their male neighbours by their KTLN or title plus last name (TLN) such as *papa LN* (father LN) or Mr X. Where the neighbour is their peer, an FN is used. Middle-aged and elderly male and female participants prefer referring to their male neighbours by various forms all of which are Xitsonga equivalents of neighbour: *makhelwani* (neighbour), *makhe/makhi* (neighbour) and *vamakhelwani* (neighbour). Other forms expressing deference are *Tatana X* (Mr X), *papa LN* (father LN), *bava X* (father X – where X stands for his FN) and Mr X.

In a similar fashion, young male informants show a tendency to refer to their female addressee neighbours by both the KTLN *mhani LN* (mother LN) and the TLN Mrs X. The KT *mhani* (mother), in terms of the data, is also used by all informants to refer to female neighbours. Except for the young female subjects, the other common reference word used by both the middle-aged female and the elderly participants to female neighbours is *makhelwani* or *vamakhelwani*.

Male and female friends also refer to each other differently in dyadic encounters. In terms of the data, young men are more inclined to use FNs, nicknames (NNs) or descriptive terms (DTs) in reference to both their male and female friends. Other popular terms are the genitive phrases such as *chomi ya mina* (my friend). Middle-aged men are predisposed towards using FNs, and in some cases, LNs or TLNs (*Tatana X*) in reference to people of the same sex, but may switch to KTFNs such as *mhani X* (mother X) or *sesi X* (sister X) when talking about women. Unmarried women may be referred to by their FNs or the KT *sesi* (sister). The use of FNs/NNs/DTs is also common among elderly men in reference to their friends. Another popular term is *munghana* (friend).

Furthermore, there is also an exclusive use of FNs by young women participants in the study to refer to both their male and female friends. The young student mother (32), however, makes the case that she refers to her female friends as *maseve wa mina* (my friend). In

support of this form of reference, middle-aged and elderly women, both educated and less educated, make choices of references, from among others, the following: *munghana wa mina* (my friend), *maseve* (friend), *mhani* or *mhani X* (mother of X).

4.2.3 Address between spouses using specific forms of address

This section answers question 3 (see Appendix C). Two middle-aged male participants (43 and 54) indicate that they use FNs to their spouses in contexts of psychological states of emotions. The school principal (47), however, indicates that he does it when he is alone with his wife, and the ABET practitioner (38) states that he uses FN as a normal address form to his wife. All the elderly male informants interviewed (59, 61, 65 and 71) claim that they use FNs to their partners only in anger.

From the data collected from middle-aged women interviewees, it emerges that only the 40-year old educator uses FN to address her husband in normal everyday usage. The same goes to the 56-year old educator within the elderly women group. The retired educator (66) also says that she uses FN only when she expresses an emotional excitement. The rest, two elderly women (70 and 75), use FN to express negative emotions.

The data further suggest that the use of TMs to address wives is common among middle-aged men. Almost all men (middle-aged or elderly) interviewed say that they use teknonyms *mhana X* (mother of X) or *n'wa-X* (daughter of X) to address their wives. This is irrespective of the educational level of the subjects. For instance, both the 47-year old secondary school principal and the 54-year old labourer commonly use *mhana n'wana* (mother of child) and *mhana X* (mother of X) TMs to call their spouses, respectively. In addition, the businessman (72) claims that he too uses TM in address to his wife as a norm. The use of TMs to address spouses is also common among both the middle-aged and elderly women.

With respect to the choice of KTFNs, only the 38-year male respondent indicates that he uses it to address his wife in the presence of his friends. The 43-year pastor uses it to address his wife when he is in a positive mood, addressing her as *mhani mufundhisi* (mother pastor). The pastor further shows that in normal address he had better choose the DT 'honey' while the ABET practitioner uses a derogatory DT when he is in a negative mood. It appears that DTs are

used very rarely by elderly men. For instance, the labourer (61) and the businessman (72) use them in extreme anger. To the 66-year retired teacher, the most appropriate DT that she uses to address her husband is *murhandziwa* (my sweetheart) when she wants to show her emotional excitement towards him.

When it comes to the use of the NON-HON *u*, only the 47-year principal and the 65-year old pensioner among men claim that they prefer using it when they are alone with their spouses. This is supported by the 32-year informant among women. To the businessman (72) and the chief (59), this is normal address. The rest of the male participants are of the view that addressing one's wife through the NON-HON *u* can only be done in marked contexts of psychological state of negative emotions. Again, the use of the NON-HON *u* finds common usage by two women educators (40 and 56). Otherwise, generally, women seem to hold the view that it is not acceptable to address one's husband through the use of the non-honorific.

4.2.4 Address between spouses in the presence of children

In this section, attention is paid to question 4 (see Appendix C). Among all the participants who took part in the interview, only the ABET practitioner addresses his wife by her FN in the presence of his children because, in his own words, "my children are still young". Also, none of the 22 married participants use FLN or TT to address their spouses in the presence of their children. Three middle-aged male subjects, all of them teachers, switch to TMs to address their wives in this context. Similarly, three elderly male informants, namely the labourer (61), the pensioner (65), and the businessman (72) use TMs as daily address forms to their wives. Two elderly women pensioners use TMs to address their husbands in front of their children. Only the young woman respondent (32) sees it fit to address her husband by the KTFN *papa X* (father of X). Interestingly, only one informant, the 56-year woman educator, addresses her husband by his LN when, for example, he is well-dressed.

Of the 22 married participants interviewed, only three ever use TLNs to their spouses in the presence of their children. The first is the labourer (54) which he chooses when introducing his wife to people in places such as towns and cities; the second is the chief (59), when he is in a jovial mood; and the third is the woman educator (56) when, for instance, her husband

has cracked a humorous joke. Among the male informants, only the pastor (43) claims that he uses the KT *mhani* (mother) to address his wife in the presence of their children.

With women informants, the situation is different because three use the KT *papa* (father) among the middle-aged and one among the elderly. Only one used *ndabezitha* (my chief) because, as she puts it, “he was a chief”. Only one middle-aged respondent, the primary school principal (50) praises his wife by the KTLN *mhani* LN (mother LN) after she has done something beautiful. For example, after she had presented a good sermon in church.

Further evidence suggests that there is only one male respondent who is in favour of addressing his wife by the NNs/DTs in the presence of children when he is in a psychological state of emotion. She picked up the NN when she was a teenager. The businessman (72), the pastor (43) and the ABET practitioner (38) always address their spouses by the SW/NON-HON *u* even in the presence of their children. The postgraduate secondary school principal (47), however, claims that he alternates between the SW/NON-HON *u* and the SN/HON *mi* in address to his spouse. Thus, the rest 19 married participants have developed the habit of addressing their spouses using the honorific when they are in the presence of their children.

4.2.5 Addressing children in specific contexts

This section presents the responses to question 5 (see Appendix C). The data indicate that in general, participants do not use LNs to address their children. Where this is done, only male children may be addressed by their LNs. The secondary school principal, for example, states that he addresses his son as *Swangi* (short form for his LN *Maswanganyi*) only on special occasions, when for example, the boy has done something impressive. Instead of the LN, the chief (59) claims to use his clan name *Valambya* (the *Ngobenis*) to address his male children, again during special circumstances. Another subject, the 61-year pensioner, says that he only addresses his sons by their LN to indicate the seriousness of the matter that he wants to address in their presence.

The student-teacher (27) and pensioner (75) say that they sometimes address their sons by their LNs to demonstrate their (speakers) positive moods. In addition, the educator (56) states that she does this to her son only on special occasions.

It is also apparent from the data that participants are reluctant to address their children by the TLNs. But the undergraduate student (32) claims that she commonly addresses her young son as *Tatana Masangu lavantsongo* (Mr Masangu junior) in church when his father is not around. Furthermore, of all the 22 married participants with children of their own, only one elderly woman (75) uses TMs in address to her children and the other (69) addresses her son by his clan name *Mhlaba* (the *Mabundas*) to show her positive mood.

Furthermore, it emerges from the data that parents hardly use NNs/DTs to their children. Where these are used, they are usually positively, descriptive. Big Shalom, borrowed from the Bible, for instance, is used by the pastor respondent (43) to address one of his children. In his own words, “I use this NN to my child so that he must grow up like the biblical Big Shalom”.

In the data collected for the study, it has been seen that the student-teacher (27) sometimes switches to KTFN *boti X* (brother X) and the SN/HON when talking directly to his son so that his young brothers (the son’s) will address him as such. The pastor (43) says it is proper to address her daughter by the KT *sesi* (sister) when she has done something that impresses him. As attested by the educators (53, 56), a KTFN *boti X* (brother X) can also be used to demand the child’s attention or to appraise him.

4.2.6 Address between brothers and sisters

This section presents results from question 6 (see Appendix C). According to the information from the participants, hardly do the young, middle-aged and elderly male informants use either LNs or TLNs to address their siblings. The medical practitioner (31) indicates that she does, however, out of excitement, address her younger brother by his LN. So is the 56-year old teacher, when she needs favours from her brother.

The 34-year old young unmarried man and the secondary school principal (47) look at their older brothers at the level of *mkhulu* (older brother) while simultaneously view their younger brothers as *mfo* (brother). According to the pastor (43), everyone is *makwenu* (brother, sister). The chief addresses his younger brother as *bo’i* (brother) and the 36-year old housewife as *malume* (uncle). To others, such as the labourer (54), the educators (40 and 53) and the nurse

(48), the senior brother is *boti* and the older sister is *sesi*. Similar address forms are expressed by the elderly women participants.

The primary school principal (50), the medical practitioner (31) and the educator (47) are of the view that the age of the brother does not matter. In terms of this view, a brother or a sister is addressed by the KTFN *boti X* (brother X) or *sesi X* (sister X) (where X stands for his or her name). Interestingly, though, is the fact that these participants concede that calling one's brother or sister by the KT (*boti* or *sesi*) alone is more acceptable than the use of KTFN in Xitsonga culture. In addition, some participants switch to *mhani X* (mother X) or *mhanintsongo* (younger mother) when addressing their sisters, that is, in favour of their children.

In terms of the choice of NNs/DTs, one young man (18) holds that sometimes he does address his brother or sister using these forms of address as an act of provocation in certain circumstances. In other words, the NNs/DTs given to siblings are often derogatory. For example, the 56-year teacher would address her sister as 'Hi-fi' for talking too much. Otherwise, there generally seem to be a certain level of reluctance by the informants to address their brothers and/or sisters using NNs or DTs.

Except for the 18-year old and the 21-year old undergraduate students, all the subjects who took part in the study indicate that they address their older brothers and sisters using the SN/HON *mi*. The nurse (48) says she also addresses all her married brothers using the SN/HON *mi* irrespective of their ages.

4.2.7 Reference to brothers and sisters

This section answers question 7 in Appendix C. It is found in the data that when she wants to express her positive mood, the 56-year old educator sometimes refers to her brother by his LN or TLN. The other participants in the research make it clear that the use of LNs or TLNs to refer to their brothers or sisters is hardly an option.

The labourer (54), the nurse (48) and the pensioner (70) intimate that they use the same reference that they use in address, namely *boti* (brother) and *sesi* (sister) to their elder siblings. The same response can be read from the 18-year young male respondent.

The pastor (43) and the chief (59) use different terms of reference than the ones used in address, namely *boti wa mina* (my brother) and *sesi NON-HON u* to refer to their respective brothers and sisters. The 34-year old unmarried young man holds that in reference, he uses the KTFN *mkhulu ra ka hina* (older brother who belongs to us) to refer to his elder brother. The other subjects in the study, however, use the same KTFN in reference as in address. Finally, the data indicate that informants are not keen to refer to their brothers and sisters using NNs, DTs and TMs.

4.2.8 Addressing a familiar female person

In this section, attention is paid to question 8 (see Appendix C). In general, the data show that LNs cannot be used to address women. Three female subjects aged 31, 40 and 66 indicate that they use TLNs to address their colleagues in the workplaces. The TLN-workplace lexicon can also be discerned from the two school principals (47 and 50) who participated in the study. Again three male informants aged 27, 38 and 54 say that they use TLN *Manana X* (Mrs X, Miss, Mrs) in the following respective contexts: to address older familiar women of their parents' age, to address women in formal settings and to address married women. The nurse (48) says that she uses the TLN to all women older than her notwithstanding the contexts of usage.

It appears that the use of TM is a common way of addressing familiar women, especially by the women speakers themselves. Almost all the women participants in the study seem to hold the view that TMs are the most appropriate ways of talking to their own species. In fact, the 32-year old female undergraduate student opines that the use of TMs is common to people one knows very well. But the male participants seem to hold different views, where only the 27-year old young man and the businessman (72) claim to use TMs in interaction with familiar women in their respective villages.

It is apparent from the data that the choice of KTs and KTFNs in conversations with familiar female addressees is common among Xitsonga speaking men. Common KTs are *mhani* (mother), *mhani va ka LN* (mother of LN) and *sesi* (sister) whereas *hahani* (aunt) seems to have fewer supporters. The most common KTFN is *mhani X* (mother X) (where X stands for the name of the addressee). So whereas women seem to prefer TMs in address to each other,

men tend to go for KT's or KTFNs. Lastly, while none looks reluctant to use NNs/DTs in address to familiar female persons, the 29 respondent points out that it is rude to address a familiar adult female person by anything different from the SN/HON.

4.2.9 Addressing a familiar male person

This section responds to question 9 (see Appendix C). From the data gathered from the informants, it is apparent that male subjects are more inclined to address their other male addressees using their LNs. The female participants, on the other hand, may use the TLN *Manana X* (Mrs, Miss, Ms X) to their colleagues in the workplaces. Surprisingly, the 69-year pensioner says that she uses LN to familiar males in everyday normal usage.

TLNs are used differently from LNs. The research participants give different reasons for their apparent choice of the TLN *Tatana X* (Mr X) to address familiar male persons. These range from age determination, workplace considerations and knowledge of addressee's educational status. In addition, according to the 53-year old female educator, the English 'Mr X' sounds more modern and easy.

The 21-year old female subject and the 61-year old elderly male convey the point that they individually address familiar men using the TM *papa X* (father of X) where they know the man's child's name. According to two elderly women (56 and 70), it is their general norm to address familiar male persons using TMs.

Young people across the age and gender divide, the data suggest, prefer addressing close familiar male people using KT's such as *papa* (father) or *boti* (brother). Another preferred form of KT used by older men to address young adults is *mzaya* (grandchild). The term *mufundhisi* (pastor) is preferred to address a pastor. Others prefer KTFNs such as *bava X* (father X), *boti X* (brother X) and *mufundhisi X* (pastor X) to address men that they know generally.

Finally, as with familiar female persons, their male adult counterparts are addressed by the SN/HON *mi*. The overriding factor, however, is the age of the addressee versus that of the speaker; and in some cases, as the 72-year old businessman reminds us, the marital status of the addressee.

4.2.10 Address forms used to better educated persons

In this section, attention is paid to question 10 (see Appendix C). Generally, both the young male and female participants are of the view that the acquisition of a better education by a young person does not entitle him/her to an address form that elevates him/her to a higher status. Thus, the participants will continue addressing the young man or woman using his/her FN and through the SW/NON-HON. However, in the presence of others, states the 18-year male subject, he may switch to SN/HON; he will also refrain from addressing him/her with the usual NN/DT, if he/she (the addressee) has any.

Three middle-aged male participants, namely the primary school educator (50) and the two principals (47, 50) selected for the study also agree that education does not entitle the addressee to an elevated address form. But the middle-aged woman (53) says she may switch to the young person's LN/SN, including the use of the HON, apparently, in recognition of his/her education. In support, the ABET practitioner (38), the pastor (43) and the labourer (54) claim that they will consider switching to the TLN *Tatana X* (Mr X), the TLN 'Mr X' and the KT *muchaviseki* (the honourable one) respectively, in address to the better educated young person.

Only two elderly women (aged 55 and 75) were not affected by this question because from their point of view, every person is addressed by the SN/HON, resulting in FN avoidance. The other five interviewees, namely the educator (56), the retired teacher (66) and the pensioners (aged 69, 70, 74) make the case that education does not lead to switching in address behaviour. This is supported by the chief (59) who sees no reason for address switching towards an elevated status of a young person on the basis of a better education.

But the following elderly male subjects, namely the labourer (61), the pensioner (65) and the businessman (72) point out that educated people, young or old, deserve to be elevated from the low status of FN/SW/NON-HON to higher status of TLN/SN/HON.

4.2.11 Address forms used to familiar wealthy persons

This section answers question 11 (see Appendix C). From the 29 participants who participated in the study, the pastor (43), the housewives (36, 55) and the pensioner (75) say that they always address everybody by the plural second person pronoun and the honorific (FN/SN/HON). So they were not affected by this question. The labourer (54) and the businessman (72) agree that it is important to address a wealthy person, young or old, properly because he/she can help him one day. But the postgraduate school principal (47) agrees that he does switch from FN/SW/NON-HON to TLN/SW/NON-HON to protect the status of his wealthy addressee.

The rest of the twenty-three participants assured the researcher that they cannot change their linguistic behaviour, that is, from FN to anything else on the basis of an addressee's newly-acquired wealth. The new wealthy person may feel that he/she is powerful, but that is up to him/her. Wealth, the 34-year old argues does not make a person older than his seniors.

4.2.12 Address forms used to familiar powerful persons

This answers question 12 in Appendix C. There are participants who think that it is not necessary to change one's lexicon on the basis of the power that a person has irrespective of how he/she acquired it. In attestation, the following participants express the view that they will not switch from addressing the powerful person with FN/SW/NON-HON to TLN/SN/HON on the grounds of his/her newfound power: the student-teacher (34), the young undergraduate student (22), the medical practitioner (31), the female educator (53), the male primary school teacher (50), the primary school principal (50), the chief (59), the pensioners (65, 74) and the retired teacher (66).

Of all powerful people such as politicians, councillors, civic activists, among others, the most regarded person, according to information obtained from the subjects in the study, is a pastor. Among the people whose views are that power, manifested through the person of a pastor, entitles him/her to new forms of address, are the ABET practitioner (38), the pastor (43), the postgraduate secondary principal (47), the nurse (48), the labourer (54) and the educator (56).

All these subjects point out that power enables one to be elevated to the status of TLN/SN/HON and one or more of the following: *Tatana X* (Mr X), 'Mr X', *Manana X* (Mrs/Miss/Ms X), *mufundhisi* (pastor), *mufundhisi X* (pastor X), *mufundhisi* (pastor), *va-fundhisi* (HON-pastor) or *bava/mhani mufundhisi* (father/mother pastor). Thus, the participants concur that the most powerful person who deserves change in address on account of power is a pastor.

While there is general consensus that a pastor should be accorded this status wherever he/she is, the 27-year student and the 47-year educator have different views. Their perspective is that switching to the new address forms should be done only in church or in the presence of others. Otherwise, argues the educator, the elevation of address to the young pastor signals the end of proper face-to-face communication between the two interlocutors in everyday interaction.

4.2.13 Address forms used to young familiar medical practitioners

It appears that young participants are very clear about the responses to question 13 (see Appendix C). In the views of three of these young adults (aged 21, 22 and 34), switching to a different address in the workplace to an addressee whom you address as FN/SW/NON-HON in the home environment is not an option, and the 22-year old young woman adds, "especially with women medical practitioners". The fact that such an addressee is a medical practitioner does not help matters either, they say. Other informants who see no reason for switching include the primary school principal (50) and the 65-year old pensioner.

Middle-aged participants seem to take a different position, though. Theirs is that it is improper to address a medical practitioner by anything other than the TT/TLN/SN/HON in the work environment especially in the presence of his/her colleagues. Among the elderly, this approach is echoed by the businessman (72), the chief (59) and the three elderly women (aged 70, 74 and 75). This position is further supported by the 61-year old labourer who prefers addressing young medical practitioners by the KT *bava dokodela* (father doctor), and the 55-year old woman who holds that *boti X* (brother X) or *sesi X* (sister X) go a long way in expressing some form of deference to young medical practitioners.

4.2.14 Factors determining address choice in Xitsonga

In the last question (see Appendix C), the informants were asked to reflect on the factors that in their view, determine address usage between interlocutors in Xitsonga culture.

In general, young people hold that address choice is a matter of how one is brought up to value both existing and emerging relationships. The 21-year student argues as follows:

There are relationships everywhere. It is just that people no longer value their aunts and their uncles because these are now regarded as extended families. These things still work especially in large families. In all cultures, words of respect are there.

The medical practitioner (31) argues that age is the most important consideration in address usage. She says: “Even two-year olds do use politeness language because they are able to differentiate between the young and the old”. In support, the undergraduate educator (47) posits that in every culture, people do not have the same age which, to him, is the primary determining factor in address choice. The rest: education, marital status, occupation, social position, wealth, he argues, is a secondary consideration. Another educator (50) has this to say: “Social life has layers: high, middle and lower levels. These layers ensure language usage; correct language usage ensures order”.

The notion of age as the overall determining variable in address behaviour in Xitsonga finds other expressions by other participants such as the ABET practitioner (38) who holds the view that there may be intra-linguistic variations across languages but age ensures that address is universal. More support comes from the Xitsonga secondary school educator (56), arguing that every younger person cannot claim to be addressed differently other than by the FN and the singular second person pronoun *wena* (you) with its concomitant non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *mi*).

The primary school principal (50), however, takes a slightly different stance. He argues that the primary factor leading to correct address usage towards another is his/her social behaviour. The right social behaviour accords a person proper address behaviour from the others. Address, the argument goes, only assists in distinguishing the young from the old and

in preserving our culture as Xitsonga speakers. On a similar note, two uneducated pensioners (69 and 70) contend that correct linguistic behaviour is primarily based on the culture that a particular speech community practises. Age and marital status, it is contended, only come secondarily. Thus, in terms of this view, *nhlonipha* language is manifested differently in different speech communities.

To the postgraduate school principal (47), address is the expression of *vumunhu* in the presence of others. In terms of this view, address behaviour is an embodiment of humanity. The retired teacher (66) and the nurse (48) use the Xitsonga word *xichavo* (respect) to refer to politeness, which to the latter, is determined firstly, by age, and then by marital status. Others, such as the Xitsonga educator (53) see address behaviour as *ririmi ro xixima* (language of respect). Equally, the address system can be described as self-lowering language that a person uses in everything that he/she says and which raises the addressee in every act of communication (the housewife, 36). The idea of age as the main determiner of *vumunhu* is supported by the uneducated housewife (55) and the pensioner (75). The pastor (43), however, summarises politeness language as follows:

Nhlonipho hi leswi munhu a titwisaka xiswona exikarhi ka van'wani vanhu. Nhlonipho i ku tekela munhu enhlokweni. Loko mi ku mi hlonipha munhu i ndlela ya leswaku munhu luya a ti twa kahle. Ku hlonipha swi angarhela ku vulavula ni mahanyelo. Ku hlonipha i vumunhu. Loko ndzi heta ku vulavula vanhu va fanele va ku vumunhu i ku akisana. Ndzi nge vuli leswaku ndzi na vumunhu vanhu va nga ri ku ndzi tsakeleni. Ndzi nge vuli ndzi ku ndzi na vumunhu loko ndzi fika vanhu va hambana na mina.

Respect is about how you feel in the presence of other people. Respect is to value the other person. If you say you respect the other person, then you should make that person feel good. Respect cuts across both your social and linguistic behaviour. To express respect is to be human. When I finish talking people must be able to say they benefit something from me. I cannot say I have *vumunhu* while people do not like what I say. I cannot say I have *vumunhu* when other people do not want to associate themselves with me.

Finally, the chief (59) postulates that *vumunhu* has disappeared these days and that research works of this type should be encouraged because they may go a long way in restoring the culture of correct linguistic behaviour among the people.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has focused on the results of the study based on the data collected from 29 participants that were selected for the study. Thus, the chapter was divided into various sections based on the questions posed to the research participants. It was seen that participants use different forms of address and references depending on their differences in age, gender, marital status, education and occupation. Addressees may be family members, extended family members, in-laws and non-family members. It was observed, for example, that address behaviour to spouses alone and in the presence of children is not the same. Address usage to children also differs from one between brothers and or sisters. So is reference to brothers and or sisters. Furthermore, language varies in terms of the familiarity or unfamiliarity of the addressee, and also in terms of their gender. In addition, the achievement of education, wealth and or social position may impact on linguistic behaviour between the interlocutors. Finally, it was observed that speakers identify a number of factors responsible for the determination of address choice. Among these are the age, marital status and or the culture of the specific language community.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter four presented the results of the study. The purpose of this chapter is a two-fold interwoven process of first, analysing the data, and secondly, interpreting them. It has been indicated that thematic analysis has been chosen as the most appropriate data analysis strategy because it enables the identification, analysis, uncovering and reporting of patterns or themes within the data (see Liamputtong, 2009).

The analysis and interpretation of the research results should be able to uncover the socio-cultural rules, values, expectations and practices underlying address usage in Xitsonga dyadic encounters, and the impact that they (the rules, values, expectations and practices) have on the different interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors in the dyad. The analysis and interpretation of the research results follows the framework followed in the data presentation and research results although with slight modification.

5.2 ADDRESS AND REFERENCE BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS IN XITSONGA

This section is divided into three subsections. The first section focuses on address and reference between the spouses. The second looks at address and reference by parents to their children, and the third on address and reference by children to their parents. Finally, attention is paid to address and reference between brothers and sisters.

5.2.1 Address and reference between spouses

In this section, address and reference between the spouses is explored. The way a husband addresses his wife is not necessarily the same in which he refers to her. On a similar note, it cannot be expected that the choice of address by a wife to her husband is the same as her choice of reference.

(a) Address between spouses

Generally, men address their wives directly using the non-honorific *u* and the singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW). The use of these forms of address is accompanied by the use of either the FN or teknonym (TM) of the addressee. There are two types of teknonyms that can be used to address women, namely the *n'wa*-X (daughter of X) and the *mhana* X (mother of X).

N'wa- is the initial syllable of the Xitsonga word *n'wana* (child) and *mhan-a* is an inflection form of *mhan-i wa* (mother of). A newly married woman would normally be addressed by the *n'wa*-X TM. The use of this type of TM to wives indicates that men see women in relation to their fathers. Men, therefore, rate fatherhood as the most important relation by which women can be identified.

When the marriage results in the reproduction of children, the husband would normally switch to addressing her as *mhana* X (where X stands for the name of her firstborn child). This form of address is an indication of the importance of children in marriage in African societies. The use of direct address to women shows that men do not address their wives with deference. They do not see them as equals but as subordinates not worthy of deserving respect.

It is mainly the firstborn child whose FN is used in the TM. It is stated that the firstborn child is the most important child in a family because he or she seals his/her mother's marriage because children are seen as assets in the society. The use of the teknonym to address the wife is a sign of the woman's fertility. It communicates the message that she is not simply a wife but more importantly, has graduated into motherhood.

Where the husband chooses to use the TM to address his wife, the switch back to FN signals marked contexts of either positive or negative emotional excitement and or the seriousness of the matter to be discussed. The use of the direct address by husbands (especially by the older and less educated men) to their wives is often extended even in the presence of their children. The 31-year old medical practitioner confesses that her father addresses her mother using SW/NON-HON *u* even in her presence, for example. This was supported by the 75-year old female pensioner respondent.

Middle-aged women, however, indicate that their husbands switch address to SN/HON *mi* in the presence of their children. There is, therefore, a realisation by middle-aged men that although they can talk to their wives in the singular, in the presence of children, some form of respect is required. She bore him children and for this she deserves some form of acknowledgement, at least in the presence of children. This line of thinking is summed up by the 21-year old female university student respondent who says: “It is not a good habit to address each other as *wena* when you are grown up adults with children. This *wena* must disappear over time and you start addressing each other using the names of your children”.

The use of the KTs *bava* and *papa* by wives to address men is a form of name avoidance to their husbands (see Raum, 1973 in Luthuli, 2007). It expresses *nhlonipho* to the men. Further evidence of name avoidance can be cited from the 36-year housewife who addresses her husband as *xaka* (relative) when she wants to express her emotional excitement towards him. When she is asked why this terminology, she says: “My husband is my everything; he is my husband, my mother, my father, my brother, by sister, my friend, my uncle, my everything”.

In order to understand all this, it should be observed that in traditional Xitsonga culture, paramountcy is given to the patrilineal kinship. First, unlike in western societies, it is the woman that gets married in African culture and not the other way round. Specifically, the semantics of the Xitsonga word *teka* or *vuta* (marry), in its current form, does not apply equally to both the man and the woman, as it is in English culture. In Xitsonga tradition, it is the man who *teka* (marries) a woman. The woman gets *tekiwa* (married) by the man. Hence to *teka* (marry) is a male property, and to *tekiwa* (be married) is a female property. Thus, with respect to women, marriage is expressed in the passive verb, indicating that they are objects, rather than subjects, of marriage. This explains why after the payment of *lobola* or bridewealth, the woman relocates to the man’s parental home to live under the care of her in-laws. Of course, later, the couple can decide to establish their own home.

The importance of children in African marriages can be seen by the use of the TM *papa X* (father of X) by women in address to their husbands. The use of this form of address is in recognition of the status of men as fathers. The 65-year female respondent says that before her husband became a father, she addressed him as *boti wa X* (brother of X). It was only after the birth of her firstborn that switching took place to *papa X*. The choice of *boti wa X* and the subsequent switching to TM is a clear illustration that husbands' names are avoided at all costs. FN avoidance can be seen as the highest form of respect accorded to men by their women.

And of course, two female teachers, aged 40 and 56 indicate that they normally address their husbands by their FNs. Two things about their background may help to explain their linguistic behaviour. The first is that they also address their brothers and sisters by their FNs/SW/NON-HON *u*. The 56-year woman grew up in Soweto, Johannesburg but is now a Hlanganani resident thanks to a marital relationship. Their use of FNs to address their husbands is, therefore, marked. It is more of habits than lack of deference. Evidently, when they are asked what their thoughts are about their direct address to their men, both admit that theirs is not a typical mode of address by married women. But anyway "habits are habits", says the 55-year old. Unsurprisingly, they switch to *papa X*/SN/HON *mi* in the presence of their children, a clear admission that FNs to husbands are taboos in Xitsonga. It is possible to illustrate the use of address terms between spouses in a continuum (see figure 5.1 below).

Figure 5.1: Continuum of address between spouses

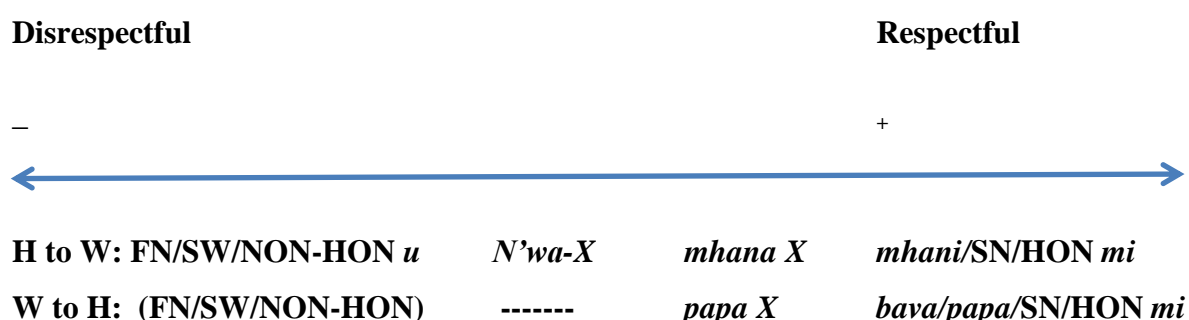


Figure 5.1 above summarises the socio-cultural rules of address behaviour between spouses. On the one hand, the use of FN/SW/NON-HON *u* to women by their husbands is the most disrespectful way of addressing them especially if these forms are used in the presence of

their children. On the other hand, women are not expected to use direct address to their husbands in normal usage. They are expected to use the KTs *bava* and *papa*, which are accompanied by the use of the plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN) with its concomitant honorific *mi* (HON *mi*). Thus, women are expected to show deference to their husbands which the men are not expected to. The 75-year old woman respondent puts it as follows: "How can you address someone who built a home for you as *wena*; someone who gave you children. No". Consequently, women are inferiors in the marriage dyad. The fact that men are genitors whose role in the spousal relationship is the provision of the wherewithal for the purposes of procreation is widely recognised by women, manifesting itself through the address system.

In line with Brown and Gilman's theory, the choice of direct address by men to women is to recognise them as inferiors. Although marriage is supposed to create equality between the two, the choice of FNs suggests non-reciprocity and asymmetry between the spouses. It says that the man wields power over his spouse and this power is manifested linguistically through his address behaviour towards her. Through this form of address, men observe the principle of relation. This principle states that a form is relevant if it contributes to the conversational goal of the speaker. In this case, the goal conveyed to the wife is that she is inferior to him. The implicature is that women are dominated by men. In the process, women lose their status as women and as mothers; they lose their face, their self- and public images that all women want to claim for themselves.

On the other hand, the common usage of the KT *papa/bava* by women when addressing their husbands is an expression of the highest form of politeness to men. The fact that this form is not reciprocated shows, again, the asymmetrical relationship between the parties. It should be borne in mind that wives are normally younger than their husbands. This factor is important in the use of address between the two because it makes it easy for men to consider women as inferiors. Consequently, the asymmetrical relationship between the wife and the husband is such a nature that the woman gives *bava* to her husband while she receives FN. In the same spirit, men give women the familiar form of the pronoun *wena* and receive the polite form *n'wina*.

Some men do address their wives as *mhani* particularly in the presence of their children. This choice can be construed as a form of downward convergence because the woman, in this relationship, has less power than the man, hence the fact that she is normally addressed by her

FN. The goal of converging downwards is to win not only the woman's approval, but also that of her children. She, therefore, stands to benefit from her husband's convergence towards her speech. Thus, the choice of the address form also satisfies the maxim of relation which requires the speaker to be relevant. The address is relevant because marriage is supposedly, undertaken on an equal footing between the spouses. By converging downwards, the man observes this principle of the CP in the sense that he shows his wife love and respect required in the marriage bond. The observation of this principle ensures peace and co-habitation leading to the avoidance of tension and conflict between the two interlocutors.

(b) Reference between spouses

Now that we have explored the use of address by husbands to their wives, it is instructive to examine reference to the same addressees. Still, the data show that the teknonyms *mhana X* (the mother of X) and *n'wa-X* (the daughter of X) are used in reference to wives. Other forms of reference include *mhani va ka hina* (my mother who belongs to us), *nsati* (wife) and *lowa nghamu* (the one sweetheart). The form *mhani va ka hina* needs further analysis as follows:

Mhani va ka hina.

Mother **HON** here us.

My mother who belongs to us.

The use of the HON *va* in the above data illustrates that the woman referent is treated with deference. This is supported by the speaker's choice of *mhani* (mother) in the reference. In addition, the husband chooses the existential morpheme *ka* to indicate the place where the woman belongs to. This place is expressed in the form of the royal plural *hina* (us). The use of *hina* (us) is expressive of the apparent plurality or deference in which the man addresses not only himself but also his entire family. It is similar to saying that his wife is the mother of all of us at home. In short, the reference *mhani va ka hina* pontificates the respect with which the man refers to his wife while at the same time avoiding addressing her directly by other available means.

The KT *nsati* (wife) cannot be used in the same utterance with the HON *va* as in *mhani va ka hina*. Instead, it functions with the NON-HON *u* as in the following:

*Nsati **va** yile ekaya.

Wife **HON** has gone home.

My wife has gone home.


Nsati **u** yile ekaya.

Wife **NON-HON** has gone home.

My wife has gone home.

Clearly, in referring to one's wife as *nsati* (wife), the speaker does not show deference to her.

Yet another popular form of reference to one's wife is *lowa nghamu* (the one sweetheart). It is in order to look at how this form comes about morphologically:

Luya wa nghamu  *lowa nghamu*
She of wife (sweetheart) the one sweetheart

A morphological process has ensured that *luya wa* (she of) blends into *lowa* (the one). The choice of this form of address expresses both avoidance and deference. The word *lowa* cannot be used concurrently with the SN/HON *va* to express deference. This can be illustrated as follows:

**Lowa nghamu va* yile ekhefini.

DEM sweetheart **HON** has gone café.

My wife (sweetheart) has gone to the café.

Lowa nghamu u yile ekhefini.

DEM sweetheart **NON-HON** has gone café.

My wife (sweetheart) has gone to the café.

The choice of *lowa* is a strategy to avoid direct reference to the referent. Such direct reference takes the form of the genitive *ya mina* (of me), which combined with the KT *nghamu* will result in *nghamu ya mina* (my sweetheart)). The use of *nghamu ya mina* expresses respect to one's spouse. However, the choice of *nghamu* (sweetheart) which is preceded by the demonstrative *lowa*, is designed to neutralise this otherwise ambiguous and awkward demonstrative. Notwithstanding, the speaker does not succeed in his goal of expressing deference to his wife because it is clear that the choice of *lowa* (she who) is a means of avoiding referring to her with deference.

It is apparent that men carefully use terms that avoid referring to their wives directly. In order to do this, they opt for indirect phrases. In this way, they also carefully avoid using reference terms that show either symmetry or asymmetry to their spouses. This can be seen as a strategy not to indicate to their interlocutors whether or not they refer to their wives as either *wena* or *n'wina* in address. It, however, emerges that the overall strategy of language avoidance is designed to hide address usage. In the process, men expose themselves to the fact that they do not treat women as equals. The message communicated to the addressee is clear: 'whether or not I address my wife with deference is none of your business'.

Having focused on reference to wives, attention is now paid to how wives use reference to their husbands. Common reference terms for husbands include KTLN *bava* + LN, the teknonym *papa* X (father of X), LN alone, and genitives *papa va muti* (father of the family) and *lava ka mina* (he who belongs to me). In some rare cases even the KT *boti* (brother) is used. It is clear that even in reference, FNs are avoided. The aim of the inclusion of LN with the KT *bava* (father) is meant to disambiguate the referent of the KT. So is the inclusion of X in the TM *papa* X and the element *va muti* (of the family) in the genitive *papa va muti*. Furthermore, in referring to her husband as *papa va muti*, the addressee uses a honorific as a way of showing him deference even in his absence, as follows:

Papa va muti.

Father **HON** family.

Father of the family.

Similarly, in addressing her husband as *lava ka mina*, an honorific can be spotted, as follows:

La-va ka mina.

He-**HON** here me.

He who belongs to me.

The word final syllabic honorific *-va* is attached to the syllable *la-* resulting in a demonstrative expressing deference to the referent. This can be more clearly proposed by the following construction:

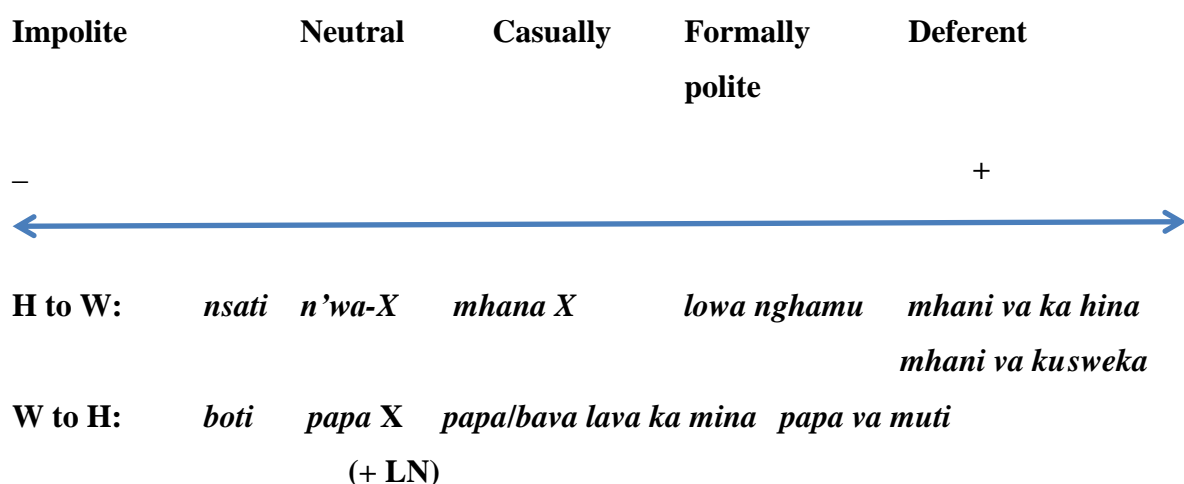
Lava ka mina va vuya.

DEM here **HON** come.

My husband is coming.

In the above sentence, the HON *va* stands as a free morpheme. In the structure *lava ka mina*, the free morpheme is bound to the demonstrative, and, therefore, only implied. The use of the genitive address *lava ka mina* is an attempt at avoiding the use of the man's FN. Its status as expressive of deference lies in its inclusion of the honorific. The speaker could easily use *lowa ka mina* (he who belongs to me). But this can be construed as lacking in respect. From the above discussion so far, it is clear that even in their absence, women refer to their husbands with deference. This emerges from their choice of address forms. The use of *boti* (brother) to refer to one's husband is a rarity. Its choice, however, is not only a form of avoidance, but also an acknowledgement of the closeness between the spouses. In the following figure, a continuum of reference usage between spouses is illustrated (see figure 5.2 below).

Figure 5.2: Continuum of reference usage between spouses



From the continuum above, it is apparent that according to correct address practices in terms of rules of sociolinguistic competence in Xitsonga, the KT *nsati* is the least respectful label one can use to refer to one's wife. So while men normally address women directly by their FNs, they avoid these names in reference. The referent form, however, appears more polite than its FN counterpart used in address. The choice of the KT, rather than the FN, appears to ensure the identity of the referent to the audience. The choice of this form includes the use of the familiar pronoun and its concomitant non-honorific (SW/NON-HON *u*). Thus, the form does not express deference to the referent. Its use also indicates that women are referred to in

the same way as they are addressed: as inferiors, and not as equals. However, this is not reciprocated by men in reference. Although the choice of the KT *boti* (brother) (at least by one respondent) can be seen as the least polite form, its usage, like all forms to husbands, is accompanied by the power pronoun *n'wina* (plural you). This entails that women also refer to men as superiors like they do in address.

The reference form *mhani va ku sweka* (mother whose job is to cook) as a preferred form by most older men supports the subordinate status of women in the eyes of men. This form defines women in terms of the social values that they fulfil in the society, namely specific homely activities. But the choice of this form is informative to the hearer. From it, he infers that the person referred to is the speaker's wife. He can also read the implication of deference shown to the referent. So, its choice fulfils two of the rules of politeness, including the maxim of manner of the CP: be clear and be polite. From the form the speaker also observes both the maxims of quantity and quality: the speaker has given as much information as he has spoken as truthfully as possible. In their absence, traditional and uneducated women will readily accept being referred to in this way. Consequently, this form expresses deference to the referent but describe women in terms of the social roles that they are expected to fulfil in the society, namely cooking.

5.2.2 Address and reference between parents and children

The relationship between parent and child is one of relational opposites. Relational opposites “display symmetry in their meaning,” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993:133). In terms of this view, the relation denoted by parent is reversed to give the relation denoted by child. This section is divided into two subsections: address and reference by parents to children, and the use of address and reference by children to parents.

(a) Address by parents to children

The data indicate that there is a two-name structure of personal name in Xitsonga: the family name (FN), which is inherited, and the personal name or first name (FN), chosen after birth. The universal rule for addressing male and female children by parents in Xitsonga culture is

the choice of their FNs. The use of the FNs is, therefore, unmarked. Besides, the non-honorific *u*, the singular second person pronoun *wena*, and the FN are the most direct address used to children. Thus, this form of address does not show deference to the addressee. The age, sex and status of the child are not factored. The FN is imposed on the child. Thus, the interpersonal relationship between the parent and the child is both asymmetrical and non-reciprocal.

The use of the FN in address to one's child fulfils all the four maxims of the CP. The FN gives as much information as possible that the addressee is one's child. By using the FN, the parent also speaks truthfully, clearly and briefly about the identity of the addressee. The goal is to send the message to the child that the speaker is his/her kin. Through the FN, the addressee will understand the implication that he/she is under guidance and control of the parent. Thus, the latter has the right to speak down to the former.

Secondly, the norm is to use the familiar pronoun *wena* in address to children. In this respect, the child gives SN but receives SW. The child gives the HON *mi* but gets the NON-HON *u*. Thus, the interpersonal relationship between the two in the dyad is one of superior-inferior.

In marked contexts, other forms can be used to address children. Two of these are the KTs *boti* (brother) and the KTFN *boti X* (brother X) to male children. Female children can be addressed by the KT *sesi* (sister) and the KTFN *sesi X*. The aim of addressing children by the KTs is to teach the younger ones to address them as such. It is, therefore, a form of convergence towards the language that is supposed to be used by the younger brothers and younger sisters in address to their older siblings. The KTFNs *boti X* and *sister X* are used to identify which one of the children is being addressed. Addressing one's child as *boti X* or *sesi X*, unless used for identification purposes, is less polite than *sesi* or *boti* alone.

What is more, it is considered normal to address male children by their LNs in some marked contexts because as a boy, the child not only carries the LN, but also inherits it for the furtherance of the patrilineal relationship. He inherits the family lineage through his father's LN. The LN is, therefore, a form of personal upliftment because the child actually owns it. LNs are, therefore, a means of elevating the status of the male child closer to that of the father. They give the child a face or public image which will make him not only feels good but also recognised. Specifically, they give him negative face so that he will feel special and different from his female siblings.

Clearly, the male species is regarded as the heir to the family lineage because lineage is expressed in LNs and not through FNs. Thus, the man is seen as not only the genitor but also the owner of the LN. Women are denied this privilege. They are expected to get married and then move out of the family to establish their own families. Still, here they will not own the husbands' LNs. In other words, female children are robbed of a face which will make them distinctive and independent individuals worthy of recognition.

In addition, if a child's LN is *Kubayi*, for instance, calling him by this or its shortcut *Kubi* will make the child even feel proud. LNs are also extended to formal and celebratory occasions especially in the presence of his friends and colleagues. In this case, the aim is to extend the respect to others and not necessarily to the child himself. This use of LN is, therefore, a form of other-raising. Related to an LN is a clan name. Rather than use LNs, parents would, alternatively, use clan names to address their male children in order to make them feel good and important. At times, clan names are used to signal the seriousness of the matter under discussion. In Xitsonga culture, clan names function similar to extension of LNs. A *Kubayi*, for instance, can also be addressed as *Mafumisi*, a *Makhubele* as *Mugwena*, and so on.

Socioculturally, female children cannot be addressed by their LNs or as *Manana X* (Miss or Ms) when they are still unmarried. They can equally not be addressed by their clan names. The 61-year old man puts it thus in the following idiom: "*Wansati i huku yo khomela vayeni*" (a woman is a chicken waiting to be slaughtered for the visitors). This means that a woman's membership in the family is temporary because she is expected to establish her own family later in marriage. That is why before marriage, she does not have a title akin to the English 'Miss' or 'Ms'. She cannot be addressed by an LN or as LN because unlike male children, she does not own one. She has no face worthy of approval by others because she is not affiliated to the LN in which she is born. Thus, before they become someone's wife, female children are addressed by the KT *sesi* or the KTFN *sesi X*. Once they have their own families, they adopt their husbands' LN by which they also cannot be addressed by because they do not own them. The LNs will be bequeathed to their male children.

According to the 70-year old pensioner, the correct language behaviour to female children is the FN, then the TM daughter of X when she is married, and finally mother of X when she has her own children. This graduation process starts at home, then to marriage and finally to when the matrimonial relationship reproduces children. Thus, women's status is fluid, subject

to their changing social circumstances. They are judged according to their socio-cultural relations beyond their scope of control. Their membership to a class depends on the acknowledgement of this same system of which they have no direct leverage.

Parents can also use the TLN *Tatana X* (Mr X) to male children to communicate affective meanings in formal ceremonies. The 65-year old respondent claims that he always addresses his firstborn son by the English title 'Mr X'. On checking their background, it emerges that the child has suddenly accumulated unexplained opulence with which he has bought himself a fleet of cars and built his father a modest house. Some women may address their male children by the TM father of X when they have children of their own. However, male parents still see their male children on FN or LN term with them.

In address, parents are divided over the use of nicknames. But they agree that where nicknames (NNs) are given to their children, such NNs should not be derogatory. It is argued that derogatory NNs make children feel bad and may lead to children losing their self-esteem in the end. Some NNs may be meaningful. The NN *Mbhinyi* (handle of a pick) was given to a child on account of his physical strength. Another child's NN is *Big Shalom*, given after the biblical person of the same name. *Tutu* was brilliant at school like the Nobel Peace Laureate, Desmond Tutu; *Putsu putsu's* meaning is unknown but is associated with quietness and handsomeness. Yet another young man was given an NN of the village of the same name of which his family members are chiefs. In using this NN, everybody is kept reminded that he is not a commoner but royalty.

Sometimes, children are given descriptive terms following their actions. Where a child has done something wrong, the mother can address him as *mabihani* (the ugly one). The purpose of describing the child as ugly is to discourage him from continuing saying or doing bad things. There are parents who believe that it is not proper linguistic behaviour to address one's married son by the SW/NON-HON *u* in the presence of his wife. The proper address form, they argue, is to use the SN/HON *mi*. Showing deference to the male child in this way will also enable his wife to emulate this correct behaviour. Hence, once again, women are expected to show deference to men. But men are not expected to reciprocate this address behaviour.

It is argued that it is not often the case that female children are given NNs. In infancy, an NN such as *Mapundu* (she who has shed off her teeth) is possible. But usually, these NNs are easily forgotten once the child develops into a mature teenager. Moreover, parents find it

difficult to address their female children using SN/HON *mi*. Instead, the usual address is SW/NON-HON *u*. The 75-year old pensioner summarises it as follows: “*Ebo, u ta ni **chavisa** ku yini loko ni n’wi vula ku n’wina*” (No ways. How will she **respect** me if I address her in the plural?”). NNs are the lowest form of address to female children because the addressee may reject it and or even not want third parties to know about it.

A somewhat different picture of address is mooted by the 36-year old housewife. The woman intimates that she addresses her elder daughter by the KT *mhani* (mother). In justifying her choice, she explains that she is grooming her elder daughter for responsible motherhood later in her (the mother’s) elderly life. This clearly indicates the woman’s desire to promote her daughter’s negative face in the context where it is actually the opposite. It can also be seen as a signal to bring about a bond of equality in an otherwise asymmetrical relationship. The mother yearns for her child to be affiliated and connected to motherhood in an interrelationship that is by conventional standards vertical and non-reciprocal. It is a way of saying to her daughter: “let us have shared attitudes and values”. Clearly, this is an extreme form of address inversion. Its ideals are understandable although its consequences may be far-reaching for the child. Interestingly, none of the other parent participants made suggestions to the effect of addressing or referring to their male children by the male counterpart KT *papa* (father). Men had better address their male children by their LNs, implying that fatherhood is mainly seen within the broader perspectives of carrying out the family line rather than mothering in the sense of homely responsibilities of physically taking care of others. Thus, fatherhood can be regarded as a much broader responsibility, involving the procreation of the male genitor to carry on with the family line.

The following figures show a continuum of address choice by parents to their respective male and female children (see figure 5.3 and 5.4).

Figure 5.3: Terms of address for ‘male child’ in Xitsonga

Term	Reason for choice
FN	normal usage
NN	nickname/description of physical appearance/action
Boti X	identity of brother
Boti	convergence to younger brother’s language
TLN	formal occasion
LN	inheritance of the family line
Papa X	he has a child

Figure 5.4: Terms of address for ‘female child’ in Xitsonga

Term	Reason for choice
FN	normal usage
NN	nickname/description of physical appearance/behaviour
<i>Sesi X</i>	identity of sister
<i>Sesu</i>	convergence to younger sister’s language
TLN	-----
LN	-----
<i>N’wa-X/ Mhana X</i>	when she is married/when she has a child
<i>mhani</i>	she will be a mother one day

(b) Reference by parents to children

FNs are commonly used in reference to both male and female children. Other forms of reference are genitives such as *n’wana wa mina/n’wananga* for short (my child) and *mufana wa mina* (my boy) to male children. Again, there are men who refer to their male children as *botinkulu* (senior brother) and *botintsongo* (junior brother).

The forms of reference used by parents to their children can be regarded as formal modes of reference within the family context. Their choice is a pointer to negative politeness with which parents talk about their children. It is a way of recognising the children's individual distinctiveness, independence and physical space. It indicates parents' knowledge of social norms and cultural values of not belittling children even in their absence. In portraying the children using these forms, the intention is to make the listener to see the children positively. He or she may see the 'close bond' that exists between the parent and her children.

But the asymmetrical interrelationship between the parents and the children can still be discerned because each of these forms entails the use of the SW/NON-HON *u*. Thus even in reference, the parent still maintain the superior-inferior status difference. The parent still wants to observe the CP principles of giving as much information as possible; of being truthful; of being clear and brief; and of abiding by the maxim of relation, that is, that he or she is the father or mother of the child. In fact, the reference forms *n'wananga* and *mufana wa mina* are even more informative than the FN.

(c) Address and reference by children to parents

Generally, in address to immediate family members in the family context, children are not expected to address their kins through FNs and LNs, let alone NNs. In terms of the socio-cultural rules in the family setting, a child, irrespective of his/her age, is required to address his/her father by either the term *bava* or *papa*, and his/her mother by the term *mhani*. Any deviation from these rules of address engagement will be considered rude and ill-bred.

It appears that older people prefer the KT *bava* (father) while the address term *papa* is preferred by younger people when they address their fathers. This assertion is supported by the 69-year old pensioner's claim that the KT *papa* is unacceptable because it is borrowed from western cultures, and *bava* is the correct term for father. Her view also resonates with the fact that the word *papa* shares phonology and orthography with its Afrikaans equivalents *pa*, *pappa* or *papa* (see Du Plessis, 2005). It is, therefore, not surprising that the KT *papa* seems to be common among young people who, due to the advent of education, are exposed to, and tend to adopt other cultures. Hence the apparent address evolution from the more traditional term *bava* to one allegedly borrowed from another language.

When it comes to the male parent, only the KT *mhani* is used in address by both the older and the younger generations. It would, therefore, seem that children are bound to their mothers as the most representative members of the nuclear family to the extent that even in the face of exposure to other cultures, this term remains constant. As Stone (1977 in Ziehl, 2002) argues, the tie that binds the child-mother relationship is stronger than any one member to the outside even to the father who is inside the familial situation. This emphasises the fact that in Xitsonga culture the child socialises more with the mother than with the father, making it difficult for the concept of mother – *mhani* to evolve in the face of the global cultural flows.

The father's role in the family is summed up by the idiom: *sirha ra wanuna ri le ndleleni* (a man's grave is on the pathway). The idiom views a man as a risk-taker, constantly on the way in search of green pastures. In his never-ending journeys, especially due to the migratory labour system, the man leaves behind his wife who assumes the role of a care-giver to her children. It is through this role that the bond between the children and the mother is permanently created, enforced, reinforced and maintained, allowing no room for address switching. Even in her old age, she is *mhani*. She is, after all, the person who physically bears the child, raises him/her, culturally mediates and socialises him/her into the socio-cultural conditions and contexts in the observation of both address and social behaviour in various interpersonal relationships.

In the following figure, address by children to parents is illustrated (see figure 5.5 below):

Figure 5.5: Continuum of address usage by children to parents

	Address term	Users
Father:	<i>Papa</i>	young and middle-aged children
	<i>Bava</i>	older and less educated children
Mother:	<i>Mhani</i>	all children

The kinship terms *bava/papa* and *mhani* are used in all contexts, intimate or non-intimate, including formal contexts. The parent or child's age, gender, marital status, educational level and occupation do not matter. The terms communicate a clear message, which is that the addressee is kin and that she is the immediate family member. The terms also satisfy the

maxims of quantity, quality and manner because they (the terms) are rich in meaning in terms of their truthfulness and clarity. They also indicate an unequal relationship between the interlocutors where the child uses the polite pronoun which allows the syntactic combination of the HON *mi*, and the parent the impolite one, permitting the use of the NON-HON *u*. Thus, parents are addressed with high deference by children even in the face of ‘provocation’ by the parent.

In reference, the KTs *bava* and *papa* are also used to refer to father. Once again, it appears that older people tend to prefer the former and younger people the latter. Other reference terms for father are *mukhalabye* (old man), which is also preferred by older speakers. Younger people will normally prefer *papa mina* (my father) than *mukhalabye*. The KT *mukhalabye* expresses deference to the referent. This can be illustrated as follows:

Mukhalabye u yile kwihi?

Old man AGR/**NON-HON** has gone where?

Where has the old man gone to?

In the sentence above, the KT *mukhalabye* is a general term referring to any old man. This meaning is brought about by the third person singular agreement marker/non-honorific *u*. For the word *mukhalabye* to refer to one’s father, the agreement marker must be changed into the third person honorific *va* (HON *va*), as follows:

Mukhalabye va yile kwihi?

Old man **HON** has gone where?

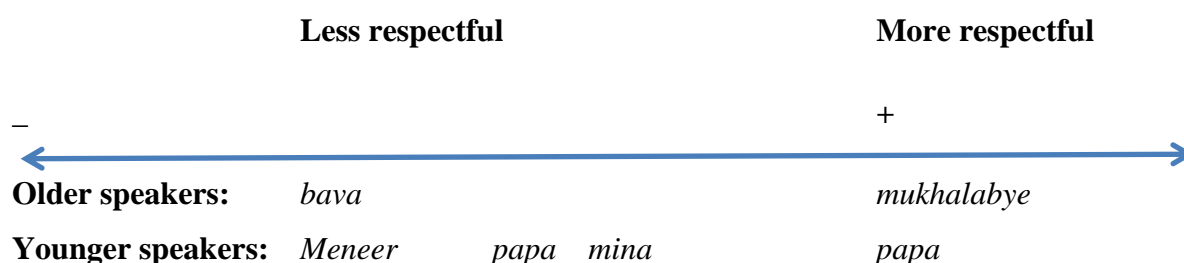
Where has my father gone to?

In the construction above, the KT *mukhalabye* refers to one’s father. This is explained by the use of the HON *va*. This honorific expressly states that the person spoken about in the utterance is father and not any old man.

In some cases, NNs and special titles such as *meneer* (Mr) are used. The NNs for fathers are usually non-derogatory but may be based on the addressees’ daily activities. The Afrikaans title (TT) *meneer*, adopted after her father’s daily work activities as a teacher, is used by the 31-year old female respondent to refer to her father. The respondent used the TT herself in her days as a learner to refer to her male teachers. Now, the TT has been transferred to her father. In this sense, besides KTs, younger people have tendencies of referring to their male

parents by other address forms. The data in the figure below expresses the continuum for the reference of the concept ‘father’ by children.

Figure 5.6: Continuum of reference to father by children

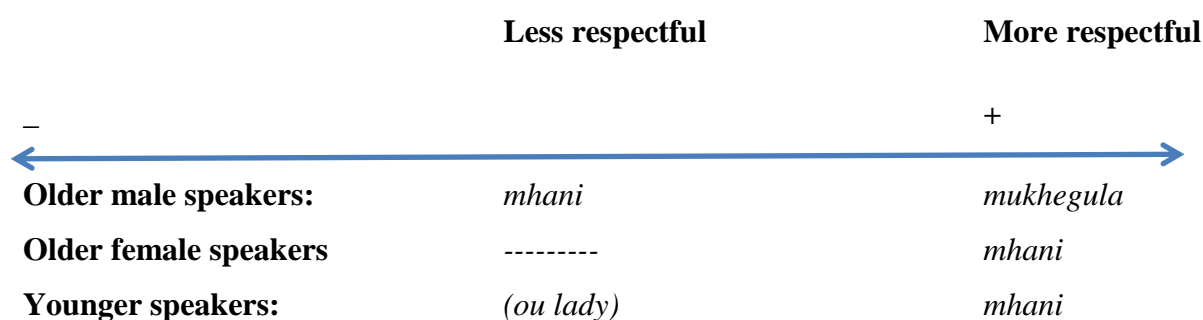


The reference terms for mother include KTs *mhani* and *mukhegula* (old woman). The KT *mukhegula* is not derogatory in Xitsonga but more like a term of endearment, again, preferred by older male speakers.

The female speakers would prefer the term *mhani* to the female parent as much as they would use *bava* or *papa* in reference to their male parent. These preferences indicate that women tend to use neutral terminology in reference to their parents.

Some young adults also prefer the use of the word *ou lady*, a Scamto version of *mukhegula* (old woman) in reference to their mothers. Once more, it appears that young adults are more innovative in address switching terminology. Comparatively, they seem to socialise more in games such as soccer, in beer halls, and other social activities with the resultant adoption and coinages of new vocabulary. The use of KTs to address parents is accompanied by the use of the pronoun of deference *n'wina* (SN) in association with its accompanying honorific *mi* (HON *mi*). Figure 5.7 displays a continuum of address behaviour by children to their mothers.

Figure 5.7: Continuum of address behaviour by children to their parents



As illustrated above, older speakers tend to alternate between the address term *mhani* and *mukhegula* in reference to their mothers.

Clearly, in both address and reference, it is not expected of children to address their parents directly by name. This form of FN avoidance serves to indicate the high regard with which parents are held by their children. This is in sharp contrast with parents' feelings for the need to perpetually address their children by their FNs, and to graduate them into father of X in the case of male children, and to daughter of X and mother of X in the case of female children on condition of their changing social circumstances.

The parent has power over the child, hence his/her direct address through the use of FN. The powerlessness of the child over the parent is manifested through his/her indirect address by avoiding the use of FNs, and the subsequent use of the KTs *bava/papa* and *mhani* to the respective male and female parents. In the interactions between the two, the parent decides how to address the child; the child has no discretion in this regard. With the child's maturity in age and the establishment of other relationships through marriage, the parent decides what other address forms can be used to the child to define these new interrelationships. He or she can, for example, decide whether or not to address the child as daughter of X when his/her daughter gets married, or father/mother of X when either son or daughter becomes fathers/mothers. Such choices are not available to the child.

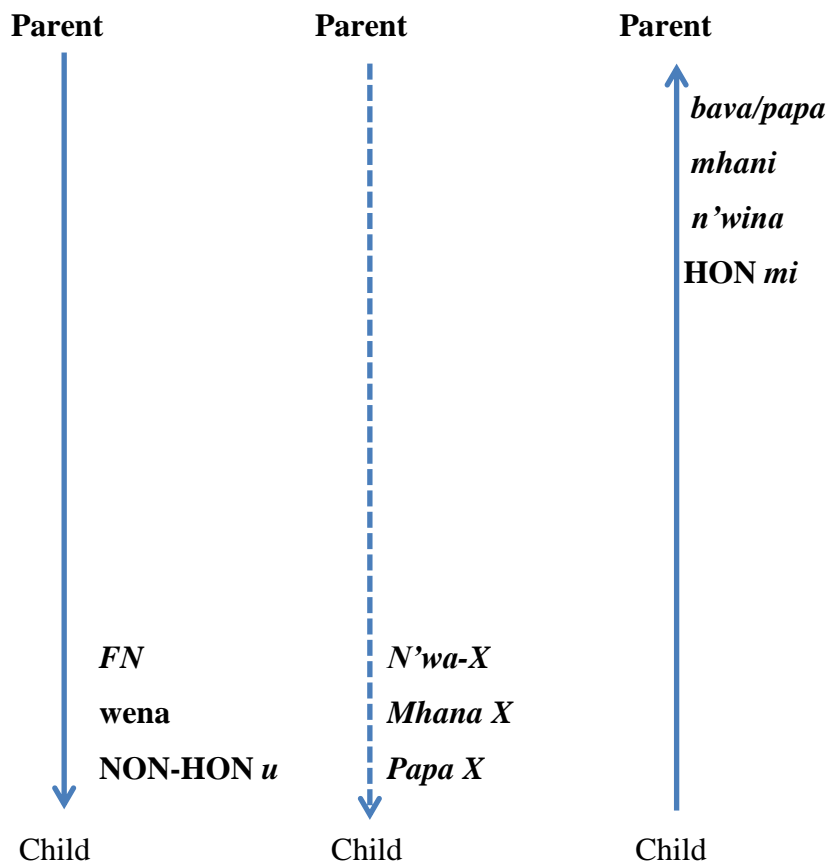
The choice of the forms *mukhalabye* and *mukhegula* in reference to one's respective father and mother illustrates that children do not necessarily use the same terms in both address and reference. Thus, in reference, the speaker still uses terms implying inequality and non-reciprocity between the interlocutors. The term *mukhalabye* and *mukhegula* can also be seen

as formal modes of reference to the parents. Their choice indicates knowledge of social norms and understanding of the social and cultural values of the Xitsonga speech community. The listener will gather from the speaker that he (the speaker) is competent in the sociopragmatic rules governing the use of reference to one's parents. He will instantly discern from the speaker, not only a person well-versed in the rules of politeness in the conversational contract that the two are engaged in, but also one who does not show undue familiarity with his father or mother. The choice of these forms also signals negative politeness to the addressees. In this sense, the child refrains from intruding on his/her parents' individuality.

By displaying correct sociolinguistic behaviour, the child will minimise the risk of confrontation in the discourse by the addressee. The opposite is also true. He will maximise the benefits of being seen as a well-bred child. If you display behaviour that is contrary to expectations in Xitsonga culture, they ask: "whose child is that one", implying that you lack *vumunhu*.

The following figure summarises the relationship between the parent and the child in terms of address behaviour (see figure 5.8 below):

Figure 5.8: Summary of address behaviour between parent and child



In figure 5.8, it is clear that the relationship between the parent and the child is asymmetrical. The inequality between the two is expressed by the differences in the modes of address used by the parent to the child and vice versa. The broken line indicates the parents' discretion in addressing the child by TMs when he/she creates new interpersonal relationships through marriage and the subsequent reproduction of children. It is apparent that the interpersonal interaction between parents and children in the dyad is vertical with the parent having discretion to exercise power over the child. The child is, therefore, not independent from the parent because the latter can intrude into the former's life. The parent imposes his/her presence on the child. In so doing, he promotes his positive face at him and thus decides the face of the child.

5.2.3 Address and reference between brothers and sisters

This section examines address usage and reference choice between brothers and sisters. In the next section, focus is on address and reference by brother to sister. Then attention is paid to address and reference by sister to brother. The third section explores address and reference between brothers. Finally, it will be helpful to look at address and reference between sisters.

(a) Address and reference by brother to sister

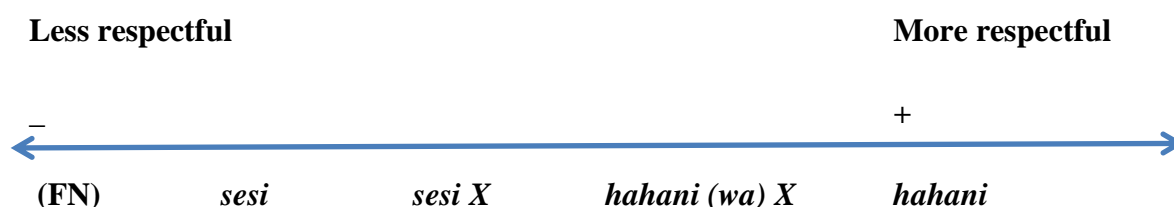
In common usage, a brother addresses his older sister by the term *sesi* (sister) or *sesi X* (sister X), and the younger one by her FN. Age is, therefore, a key factor in the choice of the address. There are, however, those who use the term *sesi* to address their younger sisters as a form of respect. The addition of FN to the KT *sesi* resulting in the KTFN *sesi X* is also used in normal usage by some participants. But there is consensus that adding an FN to the KT is less respectful. One younger respondent indicates that although his sister is older, he grew up addressing her by the SW/HON *u*. Another one claims that although he uses FNs to address his older sisters, he switches to *mhana X* (mother of X) in the presence of their children.

When referring to their sisters, men use the KT *sesi* as a form of expressing deference to their sisters. The form *sesi X* is generally used for identification purposes. In addition, some men converge to the form *hahani wa X* (aunt of X) for the sake of the children. Even in the absence of children, the sister remains a *hahani* and thus ceases to be a sister. *Hahani* is a form of address switching whose basis is the existence, and not necessarily the presence, of children. Clearly, the birth of children brings with it new forms of address by the brother to the sister. The use of *hahani* also creates deference to the sister where none possibly existed before. It may also be assumed that with the new form of address to the sister, new kinds of interactions come into being.

Furthermore, men also state that they cannot use SN/HON *mi* to an absent sister especially the younger one. The realisation that when she is absent people find it difficult to refer to a female sibling with deference entails that deference is mainly expressed in dyadic encounters. Finally, it is noteworthy that brothers are not motivated to use either LNs or TLNs in address

to their sisters. The marriage of the sisters, which gives them a TLN status, has no influence in this regard. Figure 5.9 below shows a continuum of address forms by brothers to sisters.

Figure 5.9: Continuum of address behaviour by brothers to their sisters



In figure 5.9 above, it is apparent that the inclusion of an FN to the KT *sesi* renders the form less polite than its exclusion. But in some cases, the inclusion of the X component is used to identify which of the sisters is being addressed. It is also illustrated that the form *hahani* is the most respectful form to address one's sister because it recognises the existence of children in the relationship.

Moreover, address and reference to one's sister are a matter of progressive graduation by the woman addressee/referent. This is an indication that politeness, where it is applied to women, is not a free good; it is earned. For the woman to achieve the highest standard of address/reference, namely *hahani*, the rule is that the addresser must have children of his own. This will enable him to address/refer to his sister as *hahani*; a term given to her for the benefit of his children.

The use of *hahani* gives the woman a negative face; she becomes an independent and distinctive individual free from the addresser's intrusion as he did previously when he addressed her by her FN. He addressed her by the NON-HON *u* before, but now he uses the HON *mi*. In this way, the speaker also satisfies both the principles of quantity and quality because unlike before, the term *hahani* speaks to the truth of who she really is. The choice of the term also represents address inversion because it is actually a superior KT which is now applied to a junior. Thus, through its use, the addressee is promoted to a new, higher status. Instead of the sister developing an asymmetrical relationship with his brother, the brother expects an equal status or a positive face between them. Such status entails shared attitudes, shared values and shared affiliation.

(b) Address and reference by sister to brother

Generally, sisters address their brothers as *boti* (brother) or *boti X* (brother X). Older brothers are addressed by the KT *boti* and younger brothers by the FN. The 21-year student states that although she is younger than her brother, she addresses him by his FN/SW/NON-HON. She however confesses that she is now learning how to address him properly. Women who use *boti X* acknowledge that the X factor should be removed because its inclusion does not show much deference. The 40-year old school teacher makes it clear that due to the way in which she was brought up, she addresses her brothers, including those that are married with children of their own, using the SW/NON-HON *u*.

The address term *malume* (uncle) is also used to address one's brother for the sake of children. In other words, the speaker converges to this form so that her children must know and address him as *malume* as well. Even when the children are absent, the speaker will continue addressing him as *malume*. In this sense, the use of this form entails that he ceases to be a brother. It may well be that the new language between sister and brother also brings about a new elevated relationship between the two. Where one treated the other with contempt, it would not be surprising to see then relating differently. Therefore, the birth of children brings with it not only new forms of discourse or linguistic behaviour, but also new modes of social behaviour.

Unlike their parents, none of the sisters interviewed address her brothers by their LNs or TLNs. This suggests that theirs cannot be construed as a personal relationship that is evolving into a social or formal one.

In a nutshell, it appears that there exists consensus that the best way to express deference to one's older brother is the use of the KT *boti*, or *malume* where the addresser has children of her own. But there appears to be a shift by younger people to either *boti X* or FN. Figure 5.10 below shows a continuum of address behaviour by sisters to brothers.

Figure 5.10: Continuum of address behaviour by sisters to their brothers



In the figure above, it becomes apparent that brothers are addressed and referred to differently from sisters. It is also clear that the optional FN and *malume* are at the opposite poles of the scale of politeness and that the two represent a gradual progression of address/reference. This progression, again, entails that to achieve the status of *malume*, one must earn it.

The use of this form is a type of address inversion because it is a senior kinship term given to a junior for the sake of the children (see Braun, 1988 in Hwang, 1991). If, in the past, the speaker used the NON-HON *u* to address the brother, she will switch to the HON *mi*. Thus, the choice of *malume* is also a form of both upward convergence and address switching. This switching enables the children to emulate the addresser. Once again, this illustrates the importance of children in African societies. By virtue of their existence, the addressee is given a distinctive negative face of individuality.

As in the use of *hahani* in addressing one's sister by a brother, the sister, through the use of *malume*, fulfils both the CP's maxims of quantity and quality. Apart from telling the truth of the matter of who her brother is, it also gives as much information about his identity. Like in the case of the brother addressing and referring to his sister as *hahani*, the sister also demands, from the brother, shared attitudes, values and affiliation. Hence, the status between the two becomes one of equality rather than, as before, of asymmetry. The new interpersonal relationship requires each other's equal involvement, that is, positive face, because the brother is expected to reciprocate the socio-cultural rule. The overall goal is the achievement of a solidary relationship.

(c) Address and reference between brothers

In normal usage an older and a younger brother are addressed differently. The following are used to address the older brother: *boti* (brother), *boti X* (brother X) and *mkhulu*. The use of these three forms of address is accompanied by the SW/HON *mi*. Participants who usually use the KTFN *boti X* to address their brothers admit that this form of address is less respectful as compared to the use of the KT *boti* alone. The KTFN *boti* is commonly used by younger more educated people, as opposed to the older less educated people who prefer the KT *boti*. The form *mkhulu* is preferred by older less educated speakers. *Mkhulu* is an IsiXhosa word which literally means 'grandfather' but is "often used as a respectful title to any elderly

person or a person held in high regard” (http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_does_mkhulu_mean_in_Xhosa). All these three forms express respect.

Older brothers normally address their younger brothers by their FNs which requires the use of the SW/NON-HON *u*. The 47-year secondary school principal intimates that in addition to his FN, he sometimes uses the shortcut *mfo* (short for *mfowethu*) to address his younger brother. The word *mfo* is originally a Xhosa word for ‘my brother’ (<http://sabelo.tripod.com/dictionary.htm>). The use of *mfo* or *mfowethu* illustrates the hybridity of our cultures. Cultural hybridity is partly brought about by the migrant labour system where people migrate to cities in search of employment opportunities, among others. The use of this form of address cannot be associated with avoidance because the subject who uses this also states that he alternates it with his young brother’s FN. The choice of either is, therefore, arbitrary. Furthermore, the relationship between brothers does not arrive at the level of LNs or TLNs. This shows that brothers place one another on kinship term rather than at social or formal level. Their relationship is more personal and kin than social.

Older people tend to use *bava X* or *mkhulu* in reference to their older brothers. One reason given for the choice of *bava* is that an older brother is not only regarded as a father. He also symbolically becomes the father after the death of the biological father. This entails taking the final decisions during discussion of serious matters. The form *mkhulu* also expresses similar sentiments. Other forms that have been gathered from the data include *mkhulu ra ka hina* (*mkhulu* who belongs to us). The use of the class 5 subject concord (see Kubayi, 2013) *ra* by the 34-year student respondent signals a form of language avoidance. Since *ra* refers to objects such as a stone (*ribye*), its choice relegates the addressee to the status of objects. In a follow up, the student-teacher admitted that the use of *ra* is unfortunate.

The address form *boti X* (brother X) is used both in address and in reference. Again, the participants admitted that unless used in the identification of the relevant brother, *boti X* is a less polite form of reference than *boti* alone. Thus, the name of the brother must be avoided.

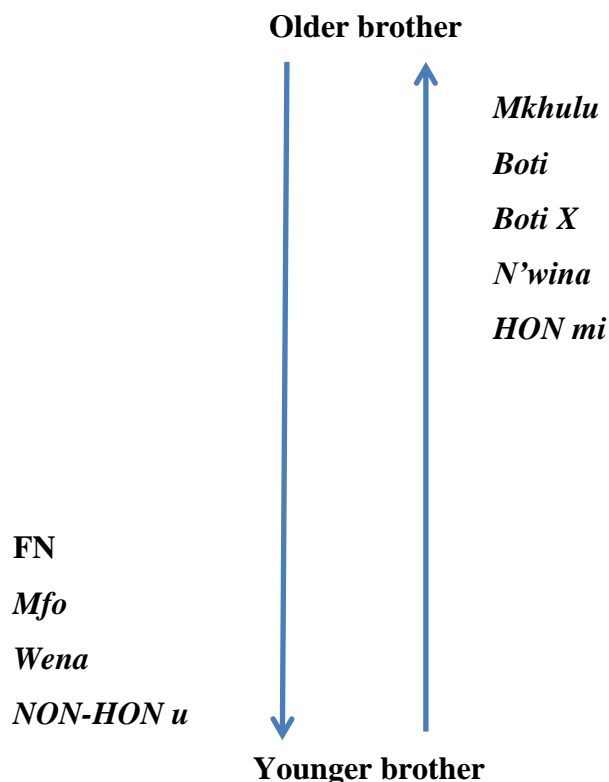
Another form of address used by younger people to refer to their older siblings is *broer* (brother), an Afrikaans word which has found its way in the lexicon of younger educated Xitsonga speakers, but increasingly also used by older ones as well. The choice of this form of address can be construed as address avoidance because the speaker seems to be avoiding proper address to his brother. Yet another form of address between brothers is the genitive

boti wa mina (my brother). This lexical item proposes a close relationship between the brothers.

In general, the participants are of the view that it is not an acceptable practice to refer, as much as to address, one's younger brother by the deferential reference. In both cases, age is the primary determining factor. Younger brothers are supposed to be addressed by their FNs, which ensure that they are also referred to by the SW/NON-HON *u*.

It is clear that the relationship between brothers is asymmetrical. This relationship can be illustrated as figure 5.11 below:

Figure 5. 11: The relationship between brothers



Evidently, the interpersonal relationship between a younger and an older brother is both vertical and asymmetrical. The choice of the code reflects this unequal relationship. The older brother gives the younger one FN, *mfo*, *wena* and the HON *u* and he receives *mkhulu*, *boti*, *boti X*, *n'wina* and *HON mi* in return. The older brother demands negative politeness from his younger sibling while simultaneously imposing his social distance on him. He (the older

brother) uses his age to wield power on the younger brother. Through his choice of address forms, he sends out a message that he is the senior brother by applying the unwritten linguistic behaviour of speaking down to his younger sibling. The younger brother is required to reflect on this intention by abiding by the sociopragmatic rules of maximising the benefit to him (the older sibling). The compliance of the norms by the addressee ensures the avoidance of tension and conflict while simultaneously bringing about peace and cohabitation.

In reference the younger brother may break the rules of engagement. This is evidenced by the choice of forms such as *mkhulu ra ka hina* (*mkhulu* who belongs to us) and *broer* (brother). Still, the addresser risks a backlash from his interlocutor who may accuse him of violating the maxims of quality, for instance. The violation can be deemed impolite behaviour by the addressee in which case it may lead to confrontation in the discourse and social distance between them. In a nutshell, the point is that younger brothers do flout the norms of correct socio-cultural conversation in reference to their older siblings.

(d) Address and reference between sisters

Apart from the FN, the most common sister-to-sister address term is *sesi* (sister). The other is the KTFN *sesi X* used mostly to identify which of the sisters is being addressed. In preference of *tati* (sister), the 69-year respondent posits that *sesi*, in apparent reference to either English (sister) or Afrikaans (*suster*), is borrowed from western cultures.

Another address term for older sister used across Hlanganani in Xitsonga is *hulu* (senior mother). It appears that *hulu* is a short form for *muhulu* (senior mother). The usage of *hulu* or *muhulu* in address to one's older sister comes as a need to converge into the address language of children. It is, therefore, a way of implicitly teaching them to address their mother's older sister as such. Hence, the reproduction of children brings with it changes in address between the kins. In being addressed like this, the older sister has graduated into someone worth more respect than before. She is catapulted to the status of 'mother'.

The direct opposite of *hulu* is *mhanintsongo* (younger mother), and is used to address the speaker's younger sister. Again, the address is aimed at accommodating the children whose usage is meant to enable them to address her properly. But the term becomes permanent even in the absence of the children. It implies a new status given to the addressee. The use of

mhanintsongo to address the younger sister also assumes that she is now addressed deferentially by the SN/HON *mi*.

The 56-year old school teacher claims that she sometimes addresses her older sister by her TLN *Manana X* when she has done her a favour. Similarly, another secondary school teacher (53) makes the point that at times she addresses her sister by the KTFN *mhani X* when she is emotionally excited. The choice of TLNs and KTFNs to sisters is in recognition of the women's status as married women and as mothers, respectively. In addressing kins in this way, the speakers also use the SN/HON *mi*, thus showing them deference, which they may not have had before.

Younger sisters, especially the unmarried ones, are addressed by their FNs, including the use of SW/NON-HON *u*. Lastly, none of the sisters addresses each other by their LNs.

Sister-to-sister reference is slightly different from one of address. Again, the forms *sesi*, *tati* and *sesi X* are used. One view is that a married sister should be addressed by the polite form *sesi*, which requires the inclusion of the SN/HON *mi*, irrespective of her age. The following figure shows sister-to-sister dyadic address (see figure 5.12 below):

Figure 5.12: Continuum of address behaviour by sisters to their sisters



As in brother-to-brother lexicon, age plays a role in sister-to-sister address. This ensures that the younger sister is addressed directly and downwardly. The choice of *muhulu/mhanintsongo* to address a sister is an indication of address switching to the language that should be used by her children. The choice of the two forms is also an expression of politeness to the sister because it approves her motherhood. It is an expression of a connectedness, solidarity, shared value-system and shared fate. She does not need to have specific education, marital status, occupation or children of her own to achieve this status. Her gender is enough.

But in order to graduate into the next status in the continuum, namely becoming *Manana X* or *mhana X*, she needs marriage and then children. In this respect, the importance of marriage and fertility in women is emphasised. And the X by which she is addressed is her husband's given to her by virtue of her marital status. The choice of these two terms also brings to the fore the fact that women use better language than men. It has been noted that men seem not keen to use KTLNs and TLNs to each other as brothers as women seem to do. This form, as the figure above illustrates, is the highest form of politeness that a sister can use to her sibling.

5.3 Address and reference to extended family members in Xitsonga

Address is also extended to resident or non-resident extended family members. Extended family members include paternal and maternal grandparents, father's and mother's brothers, and father's and mother's sisters. From the data, it emerges that the norm in Hlanganani is to use only one address term for both the paternal and maternal grandfathers and grandmothers, namely *kokwana*. Their names are avoided. However, according to the university student (22), the maternal grandfather is addressed as *mkhulu* or *madala*, and the maternal grandmother as *koko*. Not surprisingly, the student confides that besides residing in the only formal township of Hlanganani, namely Waterval, she also equally considers Malamulele Township, approximately 60km away from Waterval, as her other home. It is, therefore, against this background that her unique address usage can be analysed.

The word *madala* is an equivalent of elder in isiXhosa (http://babynames.merchat.com/index.cgi?function=View&bn_key=77476). Otherwise the theme that emerges from the analysis is that both the paternal and the maternal grandparents are addressed as *kokwana*. Thus, even with the advent of education and the subsequent changes in the society, the address to grandparents has remained stable over time.

The terms *malume* and *hahani* are used to address one's mother's brother and one's father's sister. Their FNs are also avoided. In both cases the age, educational, marital and occupational statuses of the addressees/referents do not play a role in the choice of address. When addressing one's grandparent, one's mother's brother and one's father's sister, the speaker uses the SN/HON *mi*.

Equally, the same terms used in address are also used in reference with the exception that for the purposes of identifying the respective grandparent, uncle or aunt being spoken about, the KTFNs *kokwana X*, *malume X* and *hahani X* are used. X in this case stands for the referent's FN. It is also in this respect that the third person HON *va* is employed. The lack of change in the three forms of address/reference implies that the relationships between the grandparents and the grandchildren (the speakers) have, to a large extent, been maintained over time.

The relationship between the speaker and *kokwana*, *malume* and *hahani* is asymmetrical and non-reciprocal. The addressees, therefore, demand negative face from their addressers. They want to be left alone. The three terms can, therefore, be regarded as formal terms in their context of usage by the addresser. The term *kokwana* implicates a much younger speaker to a much older addressee. Thus, its user is normally a grandson or granddaughter. Consequently, the use of the term satisfies all the principles of the CP: it is informative, it is truthful, it is clear and brief and contributes to the conversational goal of the speaker. One such goal is that the speaker is normally younger in age.

While it is true that there exists an unequal relationship between the speaker and a *malume*, the rules of conversational engagement with him are a little different from those of a *kokwana* and a *hahani*. In fact, *malume* and *hahani* are very unique persons in Xitsonga culture because the socio-cultural rules applicable to them are different. *Malume* is seen as a distant relative and as such, the speaker may even share matters of the heart with him. Viewed from this angle, there seems to be a relaxation of the interactional rules in the encounter, and thus a reduction of social distance between the interlocutors. On a similar wavelength, *hahani* acts as a go-between and a problem-solver between the speaker and his/her parents. She intervenes when serious matters are presented for resolution. She is, therefore, closer to her brother's family than *malume* is to his sister's family. So while *malume* conversationally implicates the familiar side of the interpersonal scale, from *hahani* we infer the unfamiliar go-between, the thinker whose views matters when there is a crisis at home. It appears then that the relationship between family members vis-à-vis *malume* and *hahani* is one of maximum interactional flexibility as compared with that of *kokwana* who represents the more traditional and conservative side of life.

While there is virtually only one address-reference term each for grandparent, mother's brother and father's sister, namely *kokwana*, *malume* and *hahani*, respectively, in regard to mother's sister and father's brother, the narrative varies. There are two address-reference

terms for mother's older sister. These are *mhaninkulu* (senior mother) and *muhulu* (or *hulu*) (senior mother). These terms are used interchangeably and point out that the addressee-referent is not only mother but also the senior one. Therefore, the terms express deference to her on the basis of age. However, the form *mhanintsongo* (junior mother) implies the fact that although she is younger than one's mother, she is a mother with the same or almost the same status with one's biological mother and thus, also deserves similar treatment. Thus, both the senior and the junior mothers can also be addressed by the neutral term *mhani*.

The terms used to address and to refer to one's father's brother show relational opposite with those for mother's sister. The older father's brother is known as *bavankulu* (senior father), *papankulu* (senior father) or *papahulu* (senior father). The forms do not only indicate that the person addressed or referred to by the terms is father. They also indicate that he is senior to one's biological father. The form *bavankulu* is preferred by the older speakers. If the addressee/referent is younger than one's biological father, then he is *bavantsongo* or *papantsongo* (junior father). The neutral address-reference terms *bava* or *papa* (father) can also be used to either the senior or junior father.

The addition of suffixes such as *-nkulu* and *-ntsongo*, in, for instance, *bava-hulu* and *bavantsongo* indicates the seniority or juniority of the person vis-à-vis one's biological father or mother. More importantly, the suffixes indicate that these are actually genuine family members except for their age differences with the biological parents. This portrays Xitsonga culture as an age-set society.

The use of the terms *mhaninkulu* and *mhanintsongo* in address-reference to one's mother's sister shows unequal interpersonal interaction between the interlocutors in the dyad. The same equally goes to the dichotomous relationship between *bavankulu/papahulu/papankulu* and *bavantsongo/papantsongo*. The speaker is bound by socio-cultural rules to respect their statuses, that is, to relate to them like he/she would do with his/her own mother and father. He/she is, therefore, obliged to express negative politeness towards them, thereby respecting their privacy. The fact that one of the pair in the opposites is a senior and the other a junior, as suggested by the respective augmentative and diminutive suffixes, is immaterial. The bottom line is that they have the same status as one's own biological father or mother. The suffixes merely serve to indicate that one is a senior, and the other a junior in relation to one's mother in terms of age. These morphological elements satisfy the implicature of quality in

that they ensure the truthfulness of the extent of the relation between the interactants in the encounter. Of course, age is, once more, a factor in the choice of the term.

The 54-year old primary school principal identifies *son 'wani* as the umbrella address term for both the senior and the junior father. However, follow up questions on the use of the term showed that he attended primary school in Hammaskraal, Pretoria. Therefore, his lexicon has a major influence of Setswana. He also agrees that the term is not the appropriate one in Xitsonga. Nevertheless, the use of this word illustrates the fact that no language is immune from the influences of other languages, and that there may be varying speech communities of the same language based on the geographical separation of people.

5.4 Address and reference to in-laws in Xitsonga

When a man gets married, he establishes a relationship not only with his wife, but also with her immediate family. Likewise, when a woman gets married, she establishes a relationship not only with her husband, but also with his immediate family. In either context, such relationship can be regarded as the in-law relationship. The wife's parents become the father and mother in-law; so are the husband's parents. Equally, the wife's and the husband's brothers and sisters become in-laws. But these in-laws are neither addressed nor referred to by exactly the same lexicon.

The terms *bava* and *papa* are used to address the man's wife's male parent, and the term *mhani* is used to address his wife's mother. Thus, the terms used to address the man's biological parents are also used to address his father and mother in-law. By the same token, when a woman gets married, she addresses her husband's parents by the same address terms. However, older and less educated speakers opine that the terms *bava/papa* and *mhani* cannot be used by a man to address his wife's parents because in Xitsonga culture, the son in-law cannot engage in a conversation with his *vakon 'wana* (wife's parents). Thus, these words can only be used in reference to them. One female respondent (74) sums it up as follows:

Vakon'wana i vanhu lava u chavanaka na vona. A wu va hlamuli. Vakon'wana va mina hinkwavo lava nga teka vana va mina a hi vulavurisani. A ndzi va hlamuli. Kambe mukon'wana lonkulu, loyi a nga teka n'wana wa mina lowa mativula na burisana na yena hikuva i ntswatsi. Kambe lava n'wani do!

The in-laws are people whom you respect. You do not engage in a conversation with them. I do not engage in interactions with all my sons in-law. I do not talk to them at all. But I do talk to my son in-law who is married to my elder daughter because he is older and matured. But this interaction is not extended to the other sons in-law.

The fact that the woman does engage in face-to-face discussion with her elder son in-law shows that with the passage of time, and the performance of the necessary socio-cultural rituals, dyadic encounters do finally take place with the in-laws. But of course, the fact that such conversation can only take place under marked contexts shows that the interpersonal interaction between the son in-law and his mother in-law is special, demanding the mediation of a third party. Thus, the language epitomises elements of language avoidance. The following dialogue is an example of a *mukon'wana* language used upon their meeting:

- Mukon'wana:* **Va** *byele-ni* *leswaku* *ha* **va** *xeweta.*
(Mother-in-law) **HON** tell-**HON** that we **HON** greet.
 Tell him that I send my greetings to him.
- Mediator:* **Va** *ri* **va** **mi** *xeweta.*
 HON say **HON HON** greet.
- Mukon'wana:* **Va** *byele-ni* *leswaku hi* *ri* *ahee!*
(Son-in-law) **HON** tell-**HON** that we say RESPONSE-greet!
 Tell her that I say I recognise her greeting.
- Mukon'wana:* **Va** *vutise-ni* *leswaku* **va** *njhani.*
(Mother-in-law) **HON** ask-**HON** that **HON** how.
 Ask him how he is doing.
- Mediator:* **Va** *ri* **mi** *njhani.*
 HON say **HON** how.
 She wants to know how you are doing.

Mukon'wana: **Va** *byele-ni leswaku* *hi* *pfukile. Vona* **va** *njhani?*
 (Son-in-law) **HON** tell-**HON** that we fine. 3P-PL. **HON** how.
 Tell her that I am fine. And how is she?

Mediator: **Va** *ri* **va** *pfukile, n'wina* *mi* *njhani?*
 HON say **HON** fine, you **HON** how?
 Tell her that I am fine and how are you?

Mukon'wana: **Va** *byele-ni* *leswaku* *na* *hina* *hi* *pfukile.*
 (Mother-in-law) **HON** tell-**HON** that CONJ we we fine.
 Tell him that I am also fine. (Oral source; public domain)

Evidently, in Xitsonga both the man and the in-law cannot address each other directly. Instead, the message is directed to the mediator who passes it on to the recipient. The message by the communicator is coded in 'tell him/her' linguistic algebra, and the recipient responds in kind. The mediator, in passing on the message, uses reported speech, which like that of both the speaker and the addressee, is punctuated by both the respective addressee and the referent honorifics *mi* and *va*. It is also characterised by the use of the plural verb which is manifested in the *-ni* ending. The plural verb form also illustrates verbal honorifics, thus indicating the symmetrical power relations between the two interlocutors.

The choice of reported speech seems to maintain the already established social distance between the two primary interlocutors. The number of subject concords and verbal honorifics used by the interactants clearly indicates this distance, including the high deference in which they hold of each other. The relationship between the two can be described as one that is more institutional than is social. It seems to be a pointer that one views the other as an institution, much like a court of law, where the linguistic landscapes are highly specialised, and hence the realm of only those who are familiar with the tools of the trade.

Clearly, the interaction between the in-laws demonstrates the greatest observation of the politeness principles and of negative politeness to each other. Each of the two interlocutors abide by the need to what Leech (1983) refers to as reflexive intention. By employing mediated language, the speaker intends to perform a speech act (Croddy, 2002) which he wants his hearer to recognise. The hearer must, therefore, reflect on this intention. Each of the in-law is required to understand that the two are not in talking, or specifically, address terms with each other. They are supposed to respect each other's privacy, physical space and

independence at all times. The physical space given to each other is much more real than in any other location because the two are expected to avoid eye contact of each other.

In terms of norms of conversational contract in Xitsonga, a married woman is expected to address her husband's father and mother as *bava/papa* and *mhani*, respectively. The two, therefore, have become her new parents and mentors. Whereas the man refers to her parents as *vakon'wana*, she refers to his parents as *vingi* (husband's parents). So do they to her. The singular form for *vingi* is *n'wingi*. The plural form expresses more deference than the former.

The figures below (figures 5.13 and 5.14) illustrate terms of address to both father and mother in-law:

Figure 5.13: Continuum of address behaviour to in-laws

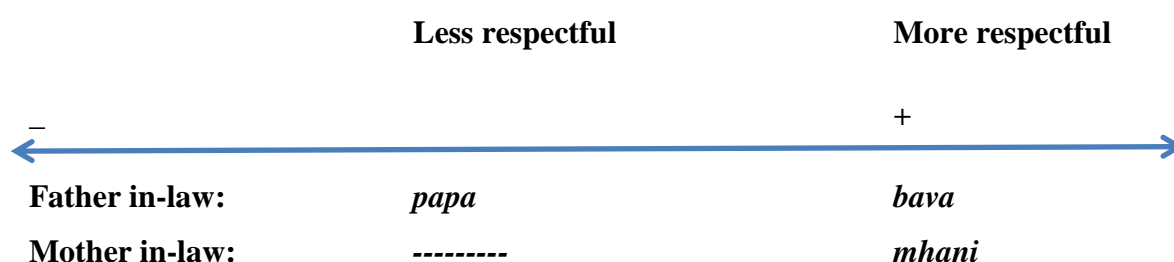
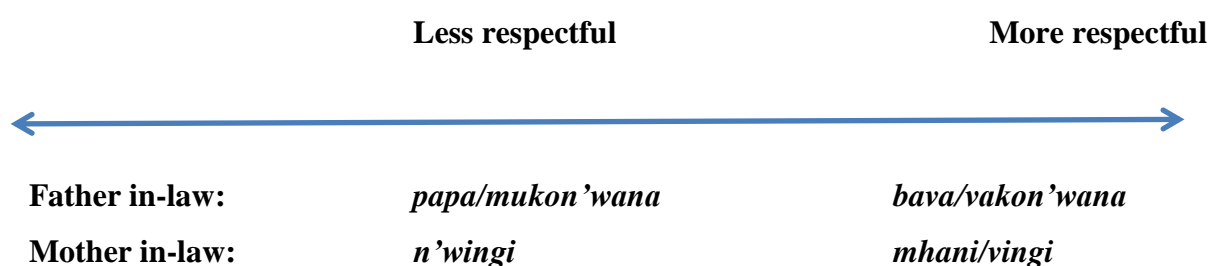


Figure 5.14: Continuum of reference behaviour to in-laws



In the figure of the reference to both the father and the mother in-law, it is apparent that the plural forms *vakon'wana* (father in-law) and *vingi* (mother in-law) express more deference than the singular counterparts.

The wife's brothers are addressed and referred to differently depending on whether they are older or younger than the wife. If the brother is older than the wife, the terms *bava* or *papa* are used. By contrast, the term *sivara* is used to the wife's younger brother. The word *sivara* is an established borrowing of the Afrikaans word *swaer*, an equivalent of brother-in-law. In its original Afrikaans form, the word does not discriminate on the basis of the age of the addressee. Perhaps that is why some participants propose that *sivara* include all their wives' brothers irrespective of their ages. Those in favour of the addressee-age-differentiation argue that one's wife's older brother stands in for his father in the same way one's wife's older sister stands in for her mother.

Apart from a man's wife's brothers, marriage establishes a relationship with her sisters. Again, age plays a role in how one's wife's sisters are addressed and referred to. The wife's older sister is addressed as *mhani* and or *sivara*. The proponents of the former view hold that one's wife's older sister stands in for her mother both in her (mother's) absence and in death. Thus, a conversation with her, just like with her mother, is not allowed, and if it has to take place, it should do so in mediation. That is why she is also referred to as *mukon'wana* or *vakon'wana*.

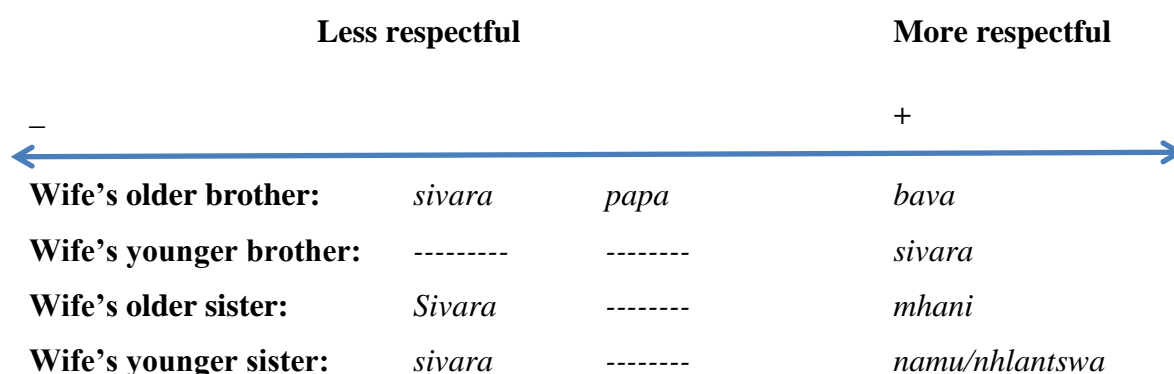
There are many address-reference terms for wife's younger sister, including *sivara*, *nhlantswa* and *namu*. There seems to be preference for *namu* and *nhlantswa* by older men while the younger generation think *sivara* is the right term. It is said that unlike one's wife's older sister, her younger sister cannot be addressed as *mhani* because of the following reasons:

- (1) She is younger than her; and
- (2) She can inherit her sister's husband as wife in case of her (older sister's) incapacitation or death.

For this reason, a man's wife's younger sister is known as *nhlantswa* or *nhlantswani*. The term is derived from the verb *hlatswela*, which loosely translated means to relieve or to assist. *Nhlantswani* can marry her sister or her aunt's husband to relieve her of the family responsibilities in the marriage. The point is that she is in a better position to take care of her sister's children because, after all, she is their *mhani*. In any case, the two share blood and, of course, blood is thicker than water. Figure 5.15 below illustrates address to one's wife's brothers and sisters. The interpersonal relationship between a man's wife's younger sister is, in theory, one of downward asymmetry. In practice, it is one of equality. Their relationship is,

therefore, reciprocal with mutual exchange of the SN/HON *mi*. So while the man may, ironically, address his wife by her FN, he would normally address her younger sister deferentially through the power semantic rather than the solidarity one.

Figure 5.15: Continuum of address behaviour to wife's brothers and sisters



In the figure above, it emerges that addressing one's wife's older brother as *bava* is the most respectful form of address; addressing one's wife's older sister as *mhani* is the most polite way. By addressing his wife's younger sister as *namu* or *nhlantswa*, the man indicates to her that she is his potential wife and, consequently, a potential *mhani* as well to his children. The choice between the respective forms for wife's brother and sister is also based on the age of the addressees vis-à-vis that of the man's wife.

A woman addresses and refers to her husband's older brother as *bavankulu* (preferred by older women) or *papankulu*, whereas the husband's younger brother is *bavantsongo/papantsongo*. These forms of address-reference are a means of downward convergence to terms used by their children. When her husband dies, one of her husband's younger brothers can inherit her as his wife. There are three reasons for this, as follows:

- (1) Men are expected to *hlayisa* (look after) vulnerable people like women;
- (2) If the woman is allowed to go back to her people, she may take away her children, and in the case of male children, there will be no one left behind to carry on with the family lineage; and

- (3) If she does not have male children, the new husband, who shares her husband's LN, will play the role of genitor for the purpose of producing heirs with the same LNs as her husband's.

Terms of address and reference to a woman's sisters in-law are varied. Two of these are preferred by older women: *n'wamaxalani* and *mihariva*. The usage of the two terms does not show discrimination in terms of the ages of the addressees. It should be stated that although younger women know these terms, there seems to be an increasing reluctance to use them in their daily interactions with their sisters in-law. Interestingly, the university student (21) and the medical practitioner (31) show keenness to use the forms later in marriage.

There are two other popular address-reference terms used for sisters in-law from the perspective of married women. The first, borrowed from the Afrikaans 'skoonsuster' (sister in-law) (Du Plessis, 2005), is *skoni*. In Xitsonga, younger sisters in-law use the word *skoni* reciprocally to address each other. Individual speakers may also add the third person honorific *va* resulting in *va-skoni*. The second term, which has no known origin, is *skhwiza*. This form of address is also popular among young sisters in-law. The use of the borrowing, *skoni* and the innovation, *skhwiza* to address-refer to sisters in-law while the original terms *n'wamaxalani* and *mihariva* are still in existence shows two things:

- (1) The increasing rejection by the younger generation of traditional terms in favour of borrowings and coinages; and
- (2) The ability of young people to create new vocabulary.

It appears that young people think that some words have become outdated and archaic, and thus, should be rejected. In their stead, they coin and or borrow new shorter words which, in their view, are more expressive.

The birth of children brings with it the need to use language differently, that is, lexical items that match the new relationships with regard to addressing and referring to sisters in-law. One strategy to achieve this goal is for married women to switch to address and reference forms that children are expected to use to their (married women's) sisters in-law. That term, which is a form of address switching, is *hahani*. The reason for the choice of this term is to avoid confusing the children. As the marriage matures with the passage of time, the term *hahani* becomes internalised so that it becomes the daily feature of her lexicon. Figure 5.16 below illustrates the address used by married women to their husbands' brothers and sisters.

	Less respectful		More respectful
	—		+
Husband's brother	<i>papantsongo/ papankulu</i>		<i>bavantsongo/bavankulu</i>
Husband's sister	<i>skoni/skhwiza vaskoni/vaskhwiza</i>	<i>mihariva/n'wamaxalani</i>	<i>hahani</i>

The interpersonal interaction between sisters in-law is normally equal rather than asymmetrical. Notably, the forms *skoni*, *skhwiza*, *mihariva* and *n'wamaxalani* are used reciprocally and thus require the use of the power semantic. When the marriage reproduces children, the woman may switch address from *skoni*, *skhwiza*, *mihariva* and or *n'wamaxalani* to the form *hahani* in both address and reference to her sisters in-law. FNs are avoided. The switch to the form *hahani* represents upward convergence because the goal is to accommodate the children. For this reason, this form can be considered the most polite form because its use is also a graduation by the addressee into a higher social status.

Address and reference can also take place in non-familial contexts. These contexts include between boyfriends and girlfriends, between neighbours, and between friends and strangers.

5.5.1 Address and reference between boyfriends and girlfriends

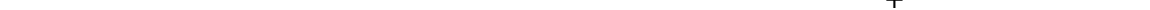
Normally, a boyfriend and a girlfriend address each other by their FNs. Their reciprocal relationship is, therefore, one of familiarity and is expressed by the solidarity semantic. Boyfriends and girlfriends share common grounds, experiences and intimate relationships. They do not consider power as a defining feature in their socio-cultural interactions. When they are asked whether or not marriage can bring about a change in address behaviour, the female participants indicate that the status quo will be maintained but that in the presence of others, they will switch to proper address forms. Thus, they are aware, and will be mindful, of the amount of socio-cultural rules that will be exerted on them from members of their speech community.

The medical practitioner (31), for example, observes that her boyfriend is so traditional that if and when they get married one day, he will demand proper address from her. On the same note, the university student (21) insists that maturity in age and the birth of children is an important determiner of switch in address from FNs to TMs. Clearly, a person's age and marital status has a bearing on the adoption of rules of conversational engagement.

In positive emotional contexts, boyfriends and girlfriends switch to the word 'baby' to address each other and back to FN when they express psychological state of negative excitement. The word 'baby' expresses affection (Hornby, 2005). Thus the address form 'baby' expresses love and care for each other. One respondent indicates that sometimes he addresses his girlfriend by the TM *n'wa-X* to show his adoration for her when he is in a psychological state of positive emotional excitement. Consequently, the switch to the TM is marked, and a signal of the observation of the principle of politeness. It also signals the need for further address switching in future. The use of FNs between boyfriends and girlfriends is replicated in reference.

In addition, girlfriends are referred to by their boyfriends by such forms as *cheri ya mina* (my girlfriend), *nsati wa mina* (my wife) and *nghamu ya mina* (my sweetheart). Unlike the latter two, the word *cheri* has no known origin and is very popular among the youth to refer to their girlfriends. It can, therefore, be seen as a scamto or 'township talk', "a new youth language that has been formed in South Africa. Spoken usually only by the youth, scamto comprises a mix of many languages [including] Afrikaans, Sotho, Zulu, English and Xhosa"

The following figure demonstrates boyfriends' use of address to their girlfriends (see figure 5.17):

Less respectful		More respectful		
—		+		
				
Address:	FN	(baby)	<i>n'wa-X</i>	<i>mhana X</i>
Reference:	<i>cheri ya mina</i>		<i>nsati wa mina</i>	<i>nghamu ya mina</i>

5.5.2 Address and reference to neighbours

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makhe. Whether it is used in full or as a shortened form, the neighbour is addressed through the use of the power semantic. This is exemplified below:

Makhi mi le kwihi?

Neighbour **HON** there where?

My neighbour where are you?

Va-makhelwani mi le kwihi?

HON-neighbour **HON** there where?

My neighbour where are you?

The use of the honorific in reference can be illustrated by the following example:

Makhi va ye kwihi?

Neighbour **HON** has gone where?

Where has my neighbour gone to?

Va-makhelwani va ye kwihi?

HON-neighbour **HON** has gone where?

Where has my neighbour gone to?

The use of honorifics in the examples above is an indication of the politeness with which neighbours are addressed and referred to.

The form *makhelwani*, together with its various forms, is gender-neutral. Others, however, alternate between *makhelwani* and KTs *bava/papa* in the case of men addressees, and *mhani*, in the case of women. Where the neighbour is an elderly person, the form *kokwana* (old man/woman) may be used; where the neighbours are younger people, the KTs *boti* (brother) and *sesi* (sister) may be given preference. Some middle-aged people think that married women addressees should be addressed by their TMs such as *n'wa-X* (daughter of X) or *mhana X* (mother of X), where the addressee has children, and married men by the TM *papa X* (father of X). People who consider themselves neighbours are, in fact, people of the same generation, and in particular, owners of the respective families. The following figure shows address behaviour to neighbours (see figure 5.18).

Figure 5.18: Continuum of address behaviour to neighbours



It is clear from the figure above that although *makhelwani* is a common address form to one's neighbour, it is the least form of respect. *Vamakhelwani* emerges as a better form because it begins with an honorific. A good rule of sociolinguistic competence will be to recognise the status of adult neighbours as fathers (*papa/bava*) or mothers (*mhani*) of the family. This recognition gives the neighbour the public image that he or she would like to claim for himself or herself. In this way, the addresser refrains from imposing his/her presence on his or her neighbour. Thus, this correct language behaviour borders on negative politeness to the neighbour. It elevates the neighbour to a position of power that all fathers and mothers (should) have. It also expresses the implicature of quality in that the speaker will be telling the truth that his/her interlocutor is a father or a mother in his or her family. Address to neighbours is universal because everyone has a neighbour.

5.5.3 Address and reference between friends

Often, people, young and old, have friends. The closeness of people in the relation may differ from close casual friendship in the home environment to one established due to working relations. From this perspective, address usage between friends will be based on the level of proximity between the interlocutors in terms of how the friendship came into being and or what maintains its existence. Friendship also occurs across the gender divide. There seems to be differences in the way male friends address each other as opposed to their female counterparts.

Male friends address each other directly using the reciprocal SW/NON-HON *u*. Other popular address choices between male friends are FNs and NNs. Yet, others address each other using forms such as *chomi* (friend) and *munghana* (friend). In the presence of others,

male friends will still address each other as equals but may opt for a different form of address from the same pool of address forms depending on the status of the audience. Where the friends address each other using NNs, such forms are usually non-derogatory.

As in address, male friends refer to each other by their FNs and NNs. Some of the NNs may be other-lowering. The use of other-lowering forms illustrates the speaker's tendency to portray the other unfavourably while engaging in self-raising terminology. One example of other-lowering vocabulary is *Malehanyonga* (he with a tall hip) in reference to a tall person. In addition, friends use genitives in reference, common among which are *munghana wa mina* (my friend) and *chomi ya mina* (my friend). Older friends tend to switch to LNs reciprocally to each other.

In addition to FNs, female friends also address each other reciprocally using the SW/NON-HON *u*. In each case, the use of FNs, coupled with the use of the non-honorific, illustrates equality in status between the friends. Another popular term is *maseve* (friend). The traditional meaning of the form *maseve* in Xitsonga can be explained as follows: if parents A's son marries parents B's daughter, then the marital relationship between the two young adults has brought about a *vuseve* relationship between the two sets of parents. The two sets of parents are *vamaseve* to each other and are henceforth required to individually address and refer to each other reciprocally by the gender-neutral KT *maseve*. Thus, the use of the word *maseve* by friends implicates close relationship between the interlocutors.

Yet, another common theme running within older married women is to address each other as *manana X* (Mrs X) or *mhani X* (mother X). In this way, emphasis is placed on the status of the addressee as a married woman or as a mother. The choice of TLNs and KTFNs evokes the power semantic between the two interlocutors. Female friends also refer to each other by their FNs and genitive constructions such as *munghana wa mina* (my friend) and *maseve wa mina* (my friend).

The use of FN/SW/NON-HON *u* in the expression of the existence of a bond of friendship between people across the gender divide in Xitsonga culture can be explained as follows:

- (1) Friendship is stronger between peers who grew up together in the same speech community;
- (2) Friendship is stronger between young adults who are still single; marriage, especially by women, breaks off friendships but may create new friendships;

- (3) Friends are normally of the same generation;
- (4) Normally, younger friends have the same solidarity status and older friends have the same power status; and
- (5) Where there is a differential status relationship between the friends, such status is a recent one, and, therefore, not recognised as of any consequence by the friends.

The following figures show a continuum of address and reference behaviour between friends (see figures 5.19 and 5.20 below).

Figure 5.19: Continuum of address and reference behaviour between male friends

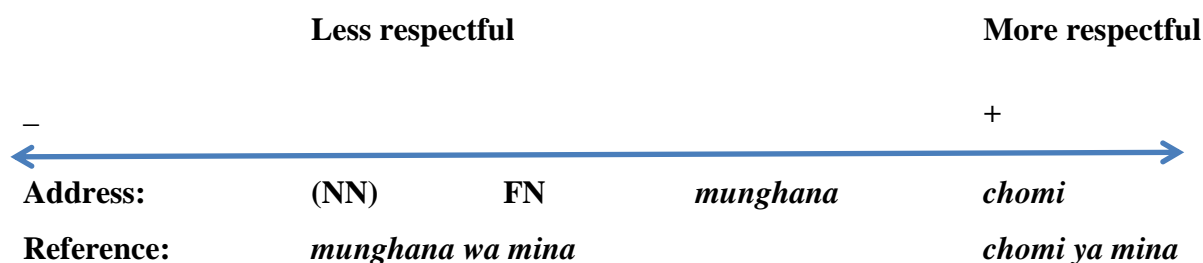
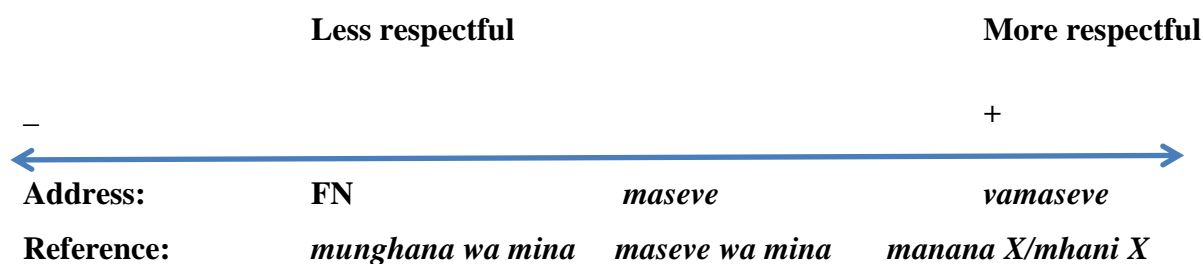


Figure 5.20: Continuum of address and reference behaviour between female friends



It is apparent from the figures above that both men and women are at FN-term with their friends. Friends, therefore, live by the interactional rules that place each other on the same wavelength of the solidarity semantic. Theirs is an interpersonal relationship of equality. Such conversational relationships allow the mutual giving and receiving of SW and NON-HON *u*. Such relationship is intimate and personal. It communicates positive politeness between the parties. Friends, therefore, project one another as co-affiliates who are connected to each other within a solidarity with no status or social differences between them. It appears

that age, marital status, gender, educational status and occupation of the interlocutors do not play a role in the rules of address choice between friends. This is largely because friends are of the same generation if not the same age. From this perspective, age, again is a central factor determining the expression of solidarity semantics between the friends.

While one of the forms used by women contains an honorific (*va-maseve*), none of the forms used by men is honorified. The function of the honorific is to imply politeness to the addressee. From this approach, it becomes clear that women's forms of address can be seen as more polite than men's. The reference used by friends across the gender divide represents, once again, illocutionary indeterminacy. Referring to one's friend by genitives such as *munghana wa mina* (my friend) or *chomi ya mina* (my friend) requires the addressee to have knowledge of other factors about the speaker in order to understand the implicated. One of the reasons is that the address gives too much information to the audience. For instance, it is not clear whether the choice of the genitive construction implies love, possessiveness or both.

5.5.4 Address and reference to strangers

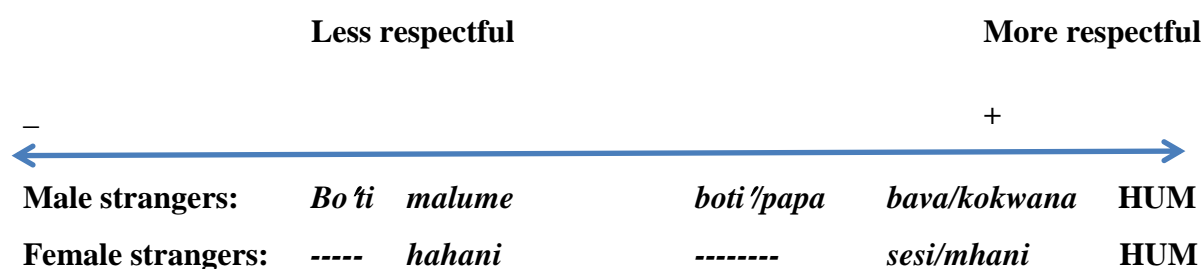
It is helpful to explore how address and reference is manifested towards strangers. In deciding the type of address to be chosen to a stranger, judgement is often made of the relative age of the addressee vis-à-vis that of the speaker. Common address and reference forms are *bava/papa* (father), *boti'* (brother) and *bo'ti* (brother). Older people prefer *bava* and the middle-aged and younger people are of the view that *papa* is the right terminology to address adult strangers. The address *boti'* is used by younger people to address strangers who are old enough to be their own brothers. The form *bo'ti* sounds like 'township talk' and may be used to someone old enough to be one's brother.

In addition, evidence suggests that the address form *malume* (uncle) is usually avoided on the basis of its heaviness. A number of participants express the opinion that some strangers feel misrepresented by being address by this term. Elderly people are addressed as *kokwana* (granny).

Common address terms for women strangers are *mhani* (mother) and *sesi* (sister). Again, age differences play a role in their choice. The address term *hahani* (aunt) is often avoided because, like *malume*, it is seen as too heavy to address a stranger.

It is, therefore, apparent that it is difficult to pinpoint generic terms for male and female strangers in dyadic encounters in Xitsonga. This is problematised by the fact that addressing strangers, like all other addressees, is heavily influenced by the apparent age of the interlocutors. However, it appears that for the average male and female addressees, *bava/papa* and *mhani* are the more polite terms for addressing strangers. One solution for this problem is the use of language avoidance through the use of honorifics and humbling lexemes. The following figure shows address behaviour to strangers:

Figure 5.21: Continuum of address behaviour to strangers



The figure above shows that the use of a humbling expression may be considered the most polite strategy to address a stranger. Humbling lexemes can work hand in hand with an honorific and language avoidance (see Keshavarz, 1988; Foley, 1997; Shibatani, 2006). The following is an example of a combination of honorifics and humbling expressions in Xitsonga:

Speaker: *Avuxeni.*
Good morning.

Stranger: *Ahee.*
RESPONSE-greeting.

Speaker: *Mi njhani?*
HON how?
How are you?

Stranger: *Hi pfukile **mi** njhani?*
 We fine **HON** how?
 I am fine and how are you?

Speaker: *A ni kombela ku vutisa ndlela.*
 HUM I request to ask direction.
 May I please ask for a direction?

The request for direction above illustrates the combination of a humbling and an honorific construction. The humbling free morpheme (HUM) '*a*' indicates the low status of the speaker as opposed to the elevated status of his interlocutor, the stranger. The elevated status of the addressee is further indicated by the use of the HON *mi*. The speaker simultaneously uses a humbling expression and an honorific to lower and humble himself before the stranger. By so doing, the speaker also raises the status of his addressee. The speaker may also accentuate his low status by using the accompanying body language.

The use of a humbling expression is a strategy to avoid addressing the stranger directly through such terms as *papa* (father), *malume* (uncle) or *boti* (brother) in the case of a male stranger, and *mhani* (mother), *hahani* (aunt) or *sesi* (sister) where the stranger is a woman. Direct address with or without a proper address term can be exemplified as follows:

Speaker: *(Malume), ndzi kombela ku vutisa ndlela.*
 (Uncle), I request to ask direction.
 May I please ask for a direction, uncle?

In the construction above, the address term, *malume* is an optional direct address. By including the form, the speaker risks using an address term which may be construed as socio-culturally unacceptable by the stranger. Silently, the stranger may evoke his age as the reason for the rejection of the address form. In order to minimise the risk, the speaker may thus choose to avoid the term *malume* by omitting it from the utterance. Still, the omission of the address term without the use of the humbling (and honorific) expression is still direct address of which the addressee may still feel offended. Hence, in order to derive maximum benefit from the face-to-face encounter with the stranger, the speaker is well advised to use both the humbling and honorific forms in his/her interlocution with the stranger.

This kind of thinking is supported by the postgraduate school principal (47) and the graduate primary school Xitsonga teacher (47), who, when asked if they have a problem of choice of

address in dyadic encounters with strangers, they indicated that the conversational rule to observe is to address all strangers deferentially. In this way, the speakers abide by the politeness principle.

The politeness principle states that the speaker should adhere to two properties of politeness. These properties, borrowed from Leech (1983), are recapped below:

Property 1: Minimise the cost to the hearer.

Property 2: Maximise the benefit to the hearer.

The avoidance of direct address through the exploitation of honorification and humbling structures in address to a stranger satisfies the two properties of politeness. In addition, the fulfilment of the two properties, with the resultant achievement of politeness, is a form of negative politeness. Rather than choosing to offend the stranger through the choice of address, the speaker simply avoids it as long as the stranger is pleased with LA and the addresser is able to derive benefits from his interlocutor. The properties of politeness can be regarded as criteria to be met for a form of address to be considered deferent. The strategy of using both humbling and honorific constructions to express deference is applicable across the gender, age, marital, educational and occupational divide.

5.6 Address forms used to familiar persons in Xitsonga

Familiar persons can be male or female. Hence this section is divided into two subsections. The first looks at address used to familiar women by both men and women, and the second focuses on address to familiar men.

(a) Usage of address to familiar women

It has been observed that women normally do not use LNs to address other familiar women. Thus, women do not see themselves on LN-terms. They had better use the LNs to address men. Thus, as far as women are concerned, men own the LNs while they, women, do not.

This is supported by the fact that men too cannot imagine contexts in which they can address familiar women solely by their LNs.

In marked contexts such as the workplace environment, women do address other, familiar women using the TLN *Manana X* (Mrs/ Miss/Ms X). Again, the addition of the title to the last name to address a woman shows that women do not own LNs. Instead, a woman happens to be addressed by the TLN by virtue of her father in the case of the unmarried woman, and by virtue of her husband in the case of the married one. The use of this address in this context is to recognise the formal status of the woman in the work environment.

Familiar women are in fact addressed by their TMs, *n'wa-X* (daughter of X) and *mhana X* (mother of X) by other women. The use of TMs signals that the status of a woman is judged against her background as a daughter to her father and her capacity as a bearer of children. Consequently, this form of address portrays women as child-bearers who are forever attached to their fathers and or to their husbands.

Men had better address familiar women by the KTs *mhani* (mother), *mhani va ka LN* (mother of LN) and *sesi* (sister). Addressing a woman as *mhani va ka LN* recognises her status as a married woman and her husband who actually owns the LN by which she is addressed. The KTFN *mhani X* (mother X) has similar status as the KTs. The KT *sesi* (sister) will normally be used to a young unmarried woman. The term recognises her status as an adult young woman. It is, therefore, a term of respect.

It is possible to illustrate address behaviour to women by means of a continuum (see figure 5.22 below):

Figure 5.22: Continuum of address behaviour to women



What emerges from the continuum of address forms used to familiar women is that women themselves tend to address each other in a progressive way. In the home speech environment, the rule of engagement is to address each other by the TM *n'wa-X* (mother of X). Once a woman has children of her own, she graduates from being *n'wa-X* to being *mhana X* to signal her new status of motherhood. Thus, having a child is a social value that is manifested linguistically. Whichever form of address is used to address them, women see themselves as equals and as part of the group of 'we'. This is the kind of positive face that they promote among themselves. It is also a kind of solidarity semantic that they foster between themselves in the dyadic interaction.

While the *n'wa-X* and *mhana X* teknonyms may be used to promote solidarity among women as their father's daughters and ultimately as bearers of children, and thus as equals, the choice of the formal *mhani X* or *Manana X* in the workplace context is marked. In this context, the intention is to convey information about the status of the woman as belonging to a particular class such as the middle class. In this way, the goal is to portray the woman as an independent woman. In this sense, women promote each other's negative face. They see themselves as independent women with power which they can use to change the society. Whether or not they can also use it to change their circumstances is another matter.

Men normally tend to address familiar women by the KTs *mhani/sesi*, but may also switch to such forms as *mhani va ka LN* and to *mhani X* in the workplace. All these forms signal social distance between men and women as, once more, independent people with power and who deserve to be left alone. In this way, they are given negative face.

(b) Usage of address to familiar men

Men find it easy to address other familiar men by their LNs or TLNs such as *Makhubele* or *Tatana Makhubele* (Mr Makhubele) in various contexts. One notable context in which LNs and TLNs are normally used is where interlocutors know each other well. The person addressed in this situation is usually, but not necessarily, older than the speaker. Where he is younger, the speaker usually knows the father of the addressee. A second context is the workplace. In this context, the age of the addressee usually does not matter. The important consideration is the formal nature of the environment. Again, it should be borne in mind that men, in Xitsonga culture, are their own LNs.

The 53-year Xitsonga teacher and the student-teacher (27) prefer ‘Mr X’ rather than its Xitsonga equivalent *Tatana X* to address familiar men. One reason for this, they argue, is that it sounds modern and easy. Thus, the Xitsonga TLN is viewed as long and cumbersome, and perhaps even less expressive than its English equivalent. The choice of the English title is indicative of the influence of education among the people. In South Africa, education brings about bilingualism among speakers of indigenous languages such as Xitsonga because they use English as a medium of instruction. Unfortunately, bilingualism leads to the rating of English as a more prestigious variety than the mother tongue. English is often seen as a better expressive language than the mother tongue. In other words, it is seen as having more status than indigenous languages. It is to this high status that the speaker wants to elevate the addressee through the choice of the TT ‘Mr X’ as a form of address.

There is only one type of TM that can be used to address a familiar male person, namely *papa X* (the father of X). TMs are normally the realm of older women speakers. The choice of a TM in address to a familiar male person illustrates that the speaker recognises not only the fact that the addressee is male, but also his status as a father. Yet, once more, this indicates the importance of children in black societies. Fertility, therefore, is seen as a virtue and a value to be recognised through forms of address. Fatherhood, like motherhood, is thus an important consideration in older women’s address to men in Hlanganani. The choice of the TM also illustrates that the speaker knows both the addressee and his firstborn child well. So once a child is born, the man begins to achieve the status of being the father of X so that his FN is now normally discarded in favour of this new status.

While older women view men on the TM-term, the father of X, young people across the age, gender and educational divide normally see a familiar man at the level of KT’s such as *papa* (father), *mudyondzisi* (teacher) or *boti* (brother). They, therefore, judge a person by his apparent age and or in the case of teachers, his/her professional status. It would be rude of young people to address familiar adult men by their TMs. The choice of KT’s to address men shows negative politeness to the addressees because it indicates young people’s desire not to interfere with their lives. Thus, being familiar from the perspectives of young people is not the same as being close or being of the same age. The use of *papa* to an adult man is also a way of maintaining the social distance between the interlocutors in the same way they do with their own fathers.

The decision to use *boti* is also informed by the apparent age where the addressee is judged to be someone of similar age with their own brothers. Where the addresser knows the FN of the addressee concerned, the KTFNs *papa X* (father X), *boti X* (brother X) or *mufundhisi X* (pastor) can be used. But this is less polite in comparison with the use of the KT alone.

Yet, older adult men may observe the socio-cultural rule that allows them to address familiar young men by the KT *mzala* (grandchild). The choice of this form pinpoints generational difference between the interlocutors in the dyad.

5.7 Education, wealth and social positions as factors influencing address inversion in Xitsonga

Theoretically, a person may assume a higher status by virtue of having acquired a better education, wealth or a new social position. Where the addressee is a younger person, the acquisition of a better education, wealth and social position may lead to address inversion. Interactional norms may presumably require that the older person uses language that elevates the younger person to a new status. This section is divided into three subsections as follows:

(a) Address behaviour to a young educated person

There are two schools of thought about the relationship between address usage and education. Young men across the age, gender and education divide are of the view that better education does not entitle its receiver to an elevated address form where he or she was previously addressed directly through the non-honorific *u*, the singular second person pronoun *wena* and by his/her FN. In other words, education cannot be used as a basis to begin to show deference to a young person no matter how educated he or she can be. Speakers cannot, all of a sudden, start addressing the newly educated young person using such forms as TTs, TLNs or SN/HON.

Some of the reasons given are that a young person does not suddenly become an adult on the basis of his/her education. Another reason is that people who switch to elevated address grovel to young educated persons. It is apparent from the position taken by young people that

education is not the primary criterion determining linguistic usage. By contrast, age is suggested as the main criterion.

The young adults' view is supported by educators, including the school teachers (50, 56), the retired teacher (66) and the two school principals (47, 50). This view is also not without support among the elderly (aged 66, 69, 70, and 74). These supporters maintain that education does not give a young person power so that we all switch address to 'better' forms other than the FN/SW/NON-HON by which he/she is normally addressed. This is eloquently summed up by the 74-year old woman when she says: "they are our children and their education is our education". The 65-year old man also argues: "education plays a role in society, but how does it lead to address switching"? According to older people, culture, which sees age as a determining factor, cannot be altered at the altar of education. A person gets education to improve his/her lives and those of others, and not to claim an elevated address.

It is possible to detect a theme from the postulation that education does not constitute switching. The view is that a young person cannot be given a negative, independent face on the basis of being better educated. In other words, he or she cannot all of a sudden be addressed formally in informal dyadic interactions because he/she now has diplomas and degrees. Thus, in terms of this school of thought, having certificates (read knowledge) is not a requirement to the elevation of an individual. Judgement of how a person should be addressed is founded on the socio-cultural rules 'laid down' even before the advent of education. These rules exclude education. Clearly, one of them is a person's age. The use of age as a determiner of correct linguistic behaviour entails that we all abide by the same shared rules, attitudes and values.

The 18-year old young man states that in the presence of other people, he may switch to the deferential pronoun to address a better educated young person. The pastor (43), the school teacher (40), the labourers (54, 61) and the businessman (72) also argue that it is important to show deference to educated people irrespective of their ages. This signals that there are people who recognise the fact that people can acquire a higher status by virtue of their education. Some of the forms that are suggested to address better educated people are their TLNs such as *Tatana X* (Mr X) and, according to the teacher (40), even the English 'Mr X'. The businessman (72) summarises it as follows:

An educated man is respected. When he/she speaks, I listen carefully to what he/she says. He will always teach you something new. I can use his title. It is a form of respect. An uneducated person will not tell you anything.

In terms of this school of thought, education gives people knowledge. In this sense, education promotes a person's negative face. That is, once a person is educated, he/she has a claim to an elevated address and thus a higher status, irrespective of his/her age. The proponents of this view seem to hold the view that a better educated person knows better and thus, this knowledge must be acknowledged, recognised and respected through, among others, the use of an elevated address. Education becomes a value that must also be felt and appreciated linguistically in the society. This view also seems to bend the long-established socio-cultural rules that judges a person in terms of his/her age. Thus in terms of this view, age cannot be the only consideration in address.

The discounting of age as a determiner of elevated address entails that education leads to address inversion. But what the proponents of this view seem not to take into consideration is that by giving the young adult a negative face, they also begin to create a social distance between themselves and the addressee, that is, between people who had hitherto, had a close relationship. Such social distance may, unfortunately, hinder effective communication between the interlocutors.

(b) Address behaviour to a wealthy young man

It emerges from the study that a person's financial status cannot be considered as a criterion for address elevation. A number of participants in the study contend that people who do address inversion from FN/SW/NON-HON to TLN/SN/HON on the basis of a young adult's newly acquired wealth do so not because they know it to be a correct socio-cultural linguistic behaviour. By contrast, such switching is motivated by ulterior motives. In other words, their expression of deference is not genuine. The proponents of this view include the majority of the research participants. Some of their views can be summarised as follows:

The primary school principal (50): "Switching address will spoil the person".

The primary school teacher (40): "Wealth is short-lived".

The undergraduate student (18): “How can I address him by the plural if I don’t know how he acquired his wealth”?

The student-teacher (27): “Addressing young people deferentially make them big-headed and no longer heed advice from others. People who switch want kick-backs”.

The retired teacher (66): “You are destroying people – wealth is here today but gone tomorrow”.

The medical practitioner (31): “Why address your peers as *n’wina*? Age counts”.

The ABET practitioner: “Address is determined by age”.

The chief (59): “Money does not give a person status”.

From the observations above, it becomes apparent that access by a young adult to good financial resources is discounted as a rule determining address engagement among the Xitsonga-speaking people of Hlanganani. Stated differently, wealth is not seen as a conversational rule determining address status. It, therefore, cannot be that a young adult is given distinctive individuality, independence and social distance resulting in a negative face on the basis of his/her financial power. Instead, a young person must remain at FN-term with his/her senior in terms of age. The 27-year old student-teacher is more direct, pointing out that the expression of deference to a younger person on the grounds of his/her better financial position may lead to big-headedness to the point of a spoilt brat.

People who then switch from FN/SW/NON-HON to TLN/SN/NON-HON on the basis of one’s wealth status are regarded as favour-seekers, and thus, their use of higher address as posturing. But this position does not discount the fact that there are people who bend over backwards, addressing well-to-do young men and women upwards because in the end, they derive financial benefits from such inversions.

Evidently, the postgraduate secondary school principal (47) contends that in addressing a young person who has acquired wealth, he will switch address from FN to LN not because he believes in the correctness of the behaviour. He says: “people with money want recognition these days, so I switch address so that he/she does not feel bad”. But according to the labourer (54), “if you do not respect them (rich young adults), you will die of hunger”. In support, the businessman (72) expresses the following view: “these young people will help you one day. So you must show them deference”. It is apparent that in Xitsonga culture,

switching to elevated address on the basis of a young person's wealth is done mainly as a lip-service.

In conclusion, it is clear that there are people who would address younger people deferentially on the basis of their better financial status. However, the 'power' brought about by one's wealth does not override age as the main criterion for correct address behaviour towards the interlocutor in Xitsonga culture. This is mainly because Xitsonga speakers do not consider wealth as a value or socio-cultural rule of address engagement.

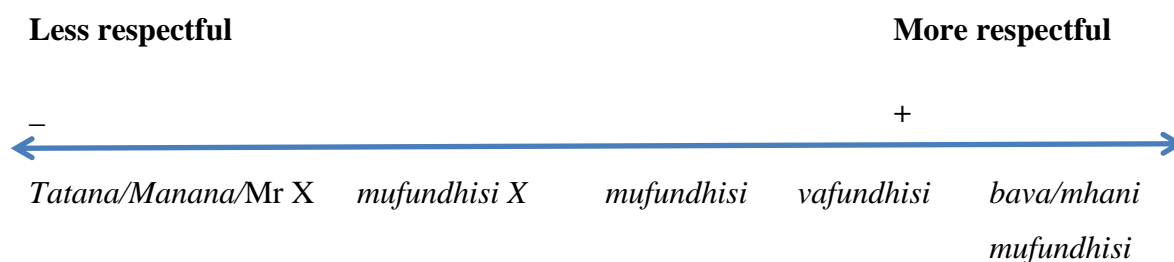
(c) Address behaviour to a person with a better social position

The participants in the study are split in terms of whether or not the social position of a young person is sufficient to accord him/her deference through address inversion from FN/SW/NON-HON to TLN/SN/HON. Politicians, councillors, civic activists and pastors are some of the candidate social positions identified in the study that purportedly accord an individual a higher status.

While it appears that generally, young people and the elderly do not show keenness for address inversion, the middle-aged indicate that they may, under varying circumstances, consider switching. Such elevation to higher status may take the following forms: *Tatana X* (Mr X), *Manana X* (Mrs/Miss/Ms X) and 'Mr X'. However, it may be contended that this inversion does not recognise all social positions. The social position of a pastor is recognised by most participants in the study as deserving deference. Address inversion to the pastoral social position can take the following forms: the KTs *mufundhisi* (pastor) and *vafundhisi* (pastor), the KTLN *mufundhisi X* (pastor X), and the kinship term plus another kinship term (KTKT) *bava/mhani mufundhisi* (father/mother pastor).

It may be argued that these terms do possess equal weight in terms of their capacity to express deference. In the address term *vafundhisi*, for instance, the attachment of the prefix-cum-honorific *va-* serves to show an elevated status of the addressee. Similarly, the use of double kinship term (KTKT) *bava mufundhisi* or *mhani mufundhisi* illustrates the highest form of politeness which any speaker can use to address a younger pastor. Figure 5.23 below illustrates a continuum of politeness that can be used to address a pastor:

Figure 5.23: Continuum of address forms to pastors



In the figure above, it is suggested that although the TLN *Tatana/Manana/Mr X* may be more respectful in other contexts to address certain people, in the context of addressing a pastor, it is the least form of respect. It is also apparent that the KTKT *bava* or *mhani mufundhisi* is the most polite way of addressing a pastor because it combines two kinship terms; the first equates him/her with one's own father or mother, and the other specifies his/her social position. The message communicated by the first KT is that although he/she may be a young person, his/her huge responsibility of bringing up a congregation can be equated to that of a parent father or mother looking after his/her children. In other words, the pastor is given a new negative face independent from the normal personal face that he/she had before. He/she is being promoted, through address inversion, into an institution, the church, which he/she represents. What is at stake is, therefore, not him as a person, but his institution which is manifested through the position that he/she holds.

Addressing a young adult in this way clearly satisfies the Gricean theory of conversation. First, because the term *mufundhisi* represents a tell-all terminology both in terms of the amount of information that it conveys, and secondly, in terms of the quality of the clarity of the message conveyed. In addition, the conversational goal to the hearer is that the addressee is a man of God. The fact that people are ready to accord a young pastor the necessary deference (and are reluctant to do the same with other people who apparently hold similar social positions) demonstrates the high respect that people have, not only for the man of God, but also of God Himself. Thus, people are ready to bend socio-cultural rules on which basis a young person is addressed by the FN/SW/NON-HON to an elevated address. Not surprisingly, when the pastor (43) who participated in the study was asked whether or not older people changed their addressed to him when he assumed his pastoral role, his response was in the positive. But he is not alone.

The secondary school principal (47) also concurred that as soon as he ascended his new position as a head of a Post Level 4 high school, he noted a positive change in the way people

addressed him. Consequently, people make judgements about which social positions deserve new address behaviour. In the latter case, the school is popular; it has a huge enrolment; it is centrally located in a well-known village in Hlanganani; and produces quality matric results. The principal is local and worked in the same school before he achieved a deputy principalship post in another school. As a deputy principal of the primary school, no one paid attention to him lexically. But now that he runs a high school with all the qualities described above, he is promoted to an elevated address.

The primary school teacher (50), however, expresses the view that although it is good linguistic behaviour to promote the negative face of a young pastor, such behaviour should be restricted to the church in the presence of others. He opines that the promotion of negative face through address switching leads to the creation of social distance between the interlocutors with the ultimate undesirable consequence of hindering proper interpersonal engagement. Specifically, it is argued that alone, interlocution requires positive face between the interactants because this has the desired consequence of same affiliation to the same group membership of intimacy and solidarity, and thus smooth communication between the parties in the dyad.

5.8 Addressing medical practitioners in the workplace in Xitsonga

It appears that young people see no reason whatsoever to switch to a different address on the grounds that the addressee is a medical practitioner in the workplace. Whether or not the practitioner is in the presence of his colleagues is immaterial in the eyes of the young adults. What matters to them is that he/she is their peer and as such does not deserve any preferential address. To these young adults, it does not make sense to switch to TT/TLN/SN/HON *mi* to the familiar young doctor in the work environment, and then switch back to the normal FN/SW/NON-HON *u* at home. The 22-year undergraduate student puts it as follows: “Respect is not about switching addresses”. This view supports the assertion that age is a primary criterion in address choice among Xitsonga speakers in Hlanganani.

Middle-aged and elderly men, and women object to the young adults’ viewpoints. In their points of view, a medical practitioner can be likened to a pastor. He/she deserves deference, more so in the workplace. Here are their reasons given why, according to the middle-aged

and elderly men and women, address inversion from FN/SW/NON-HON to TT/TLN/SN/HON is important in addressing a young familiar medical practitioner in the presence of his/her colleagues in the workplace:

The pensioner (69): “He is educated so I must respect him”.

The retired teacher (66): “We respect his/her colleagues”.

The labourer (61): “I give him/her deference in the presence of his/her colleagues, when we come back home, I switch back to normal address”.

The teacher (53): “He cares about us as a nation”.

The student-teacher (27): “We respect a person’s position in the workplace but we switch back to normal usage at home”.

The teacher (56): “I also won’t expect a person to address me by my FN in the workplace”.

The medical practitioner (31): “People address me deferentially these days – I have noticed that even in church. Even when you try to indicate to them that you prefer your FN, they just don’t get it”.

The chief (59): “A doctor is addressed by his/her title wherever he/she is”.

The student (32): “It is important to give doctors deference in the presence of third parties but when you are alone, you switch back to normal address”.

Evidently, it becomes apparent that medical practitioners are accorded negative politeness by the people of Hlanganani. In fact, the reasons for address elevation are varied and can be summarised as follows: respect for the profession and considerateness for their colleagues. The fact that some people contemplate only addressing doctors deferentially in the presence of their colleagues (doctors’) but will switch to normal usage in the home environment illustrates that the presence of audience is an important criterion in address inversion.

There are a number of forms of address that can be used to address medical practitioners. These are the KTs *boti/sesi X* (brother/sister X), *dokodela* (doctor), the title plus last name (TTLN) *dokodela X* (Doctor X), its English equivalent ‘Dr X’ and the kinship term plus title (KTTT) *bava/mhani dokodela* (father/mother doctor). It is possible to illustrate these forms in terms of their level of politeness in a continuum (see figure 5.24 below).

Figure 5.24: Continuum of address forms to medical practitioners



In the figure above, addressing a medical doctor as *boti/sesi X* in the workplace is the least polite form of address. The prefacing of the TT ‘Dokodela’ by the KT *bava/mhani* to make it KTTT *bava/mhani dokodela* (father/mother doctor) is an elevated form of address to a young medical practitioner because the symbolic role of the medical practitioner as a father or mother to his/her patients is evoked. Thus, medical practitioners are accorded the same status as that of parents and pastors. Medical practitioners are to patients as parents are to children and pastors to congregants. In each case, the relationship is non-reciprocal, asymmetrical and is one of social distance. The use of an elevated address to the person of a doctor by an adult who is old enough to be the addressee’s father or mother also pinpoints address inversion because the doctor is being given a senior kinship term in which he/she is the junior of the dyad in terms of the primary criterion of age.

5.9 Factors determining address choice in Xitsonga

There are two schools of thought that explain factors determining address behaviour between two interlocutors in dyadic encounters in the Xitsonga speaking area of Hlanganani. In terms of the first school of thought, address behaviour is brought about by social behaviour. The contention is that speakers elevate others linguistically on the basis of their acceptable behaviour. It is said that an addressee cannot expect a speaker to give him/her deference unless he/she shows good social behaviour to him/her. Thus, the decision about the choice of appropriate address forms is informed by the speaker’s evaluation of the addressee’s socio-cultural behaviour. If the speaker is satisfied that the addressee’s behaviour conforms to correct socio-cultural rules, then he/she reciprocates the behaviour through correct linguistic behaviour. In this sense, social demeanour determines address behaviour. Broadly speaking, society determines language.

The problem with this hypothesis is that it does not recognise the fact that the address behaviour that children display to their parents is unconditional. A child, for instance, is expected to display correct address behaviour towards his/her mother even if the latter shows incorrect social behaviour such as drunkenness or prostitution. In the same vein, parents in general address their children by their FNs irrespective of their desirable or undesirable social behaviour. A young person who addresses an older person by the solidarity pronoun on the basis of the latter's improper social behaviour will be inviting tension and conflict from his/her addressee or members of the audience. On the same score, there appears to be a tendency for colleagues to address one another by their LNs or TLNs in the workplace irrespective of whether or not the addressee meets the basic standards of acceptable workplace etiquette.

The second school of thought states that correct language use is determined by the age differences between the interlocutors. In terms of this framework, people belong to different generations and thus differ in terms of age. Age, therefore, creates inequality between people. The older person acquires inherent power over the younger one, ensuring discretion in terms of choice of address to the younger one. The younger person, by contrast, does not have this discretion to decide how to address his/her superior in age. Thus, in general, younger people are addressed downwardly by their FN/SW/NON-HON in Xitsonga culture. In terms of this view, the primary goal of the speaker is to communicate the message that he is older than the addressee.

Again, the older person imposes proper address to the younger one during language acquisition, and the decision about how he or she should be addressed lies solely and squarely in his or her hands. The imposition of correct address behaviour to the child by the parent can be equated with the order in society stated by the 50-year old educator which he says is brought about by correct language use. In this sense, address usage is universal because all societies are founded on interpersonal relationships.

Later in life, the addressee may establish other relationships such as the acquisition of a spouse. The spouse will normally be a member of the opposite sex. The gender of the spouse is a factor because of the real or perceived social role that each plays in the society. Interpersonal relationships give birth to new forms of address by both the existing and new family members. The context of marriage can be considered as another factor that brings about new address behaviour because it brings about switching in address usage.

Furthermore, the addressee may also assume new forms of power or relations through, for example, the receipt of education, the acquisition of wealth and the ascendance to socio-economic positions. These forms of power will affect the speaker's relationships with his/her interlocutors, leading to the assumption of new forms of address and the maintenance and or discarding of others.

The supporters of age determination argue that one's correct choice of address to the other constitutes our humanity or *vumunhu*. Specifically, *vumumhu* is broadly and generally described as the use of address to lower the self while at the same time raise one's interlocutor. Self-lowering and other-raising take place within socio-cultural interactional power dynamics. The parent, for example, has power over the child. It is, therefore, the child who is expected to lower himself/herself towards his/her parents through proper address behaviour. This is what *vumumhu*, suggestively, entails.

5.10 Summary

The focus in this chapter was on the analysis and interpretations of the research results. The division of the chapter followed, with slight modifications, the framework used in the previous chapter. Attention was paid to address and reference strategies used by speakers to family members, extended family members, in-laws and non-family members. Focus was also given to strategies used to address familiar persons in Xitsonga. The impact of education, wealth and social positions in address behaviour was also examined. Yet another section was dedicated to exploring how interlocation in the specific context of medical practice in the workplace has a bearing on address choice. More importantly, the final section looked at factors determining address usage in Xitsonga. It was discovered that age is the primary determiner of address behaviour. Gender, marital status, education, the workplace (occupation) of interlocutors and the establishments of new relationships also have an impact on decisions about appropriate interactional behaviour.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter 5, the focus was on the analysis and interpretation of the research results. It has been seen that in Xitsonga address behaviour is manifested in a plurality of address forms. The purpose of this chapter is three-fold: to present the findings of the study, to draw the conclusions, and to make recommendations.

The following section looks at the findings of the study.

6.2 FINDINGS

This study has explored the nature of the interpersonal relationships and socio-cultural rules underlying address behaviour in Xitsonga dyadic encounters using a socio-pragmatic approach. In line with the objectives of the study, six major findings of the study can be distinguished, and are discussed under the following headings:

6.2.1 Address forms and reference terms in Xitsonga

The first major finding is that it is possible to identify and describe the types of terms of address and reference used by Xitsonga speakers in dyadic encounters. Within the familial context, there are kinship terms for men and kinship terms for women. For example, the kinship terms *papa* (father) and *boti* (brother) are used to address men; the kinship terms

mhani (mother) and *sesi* (sister) are used to address women. Outside the familial context, forms such as *makhelwani* (neighbour), *munghana* (friend) and *chomi* (friend) are gender-neutral: they do not specify the sex of the addressee. The honorifics *mi* and *va* and the non-honorific *u* are also gender-neutral. The zero address forms such as the place locative *ka* and the humbling form *a* are also used to address people as specific forms of address avoidance.

When a woman establishes her own family, speakers may switch from addressing her by her FN to the use of a teknonym *n'wa-X* (daughter of X). This type of teknonym attaches her to her father. When she has children of her own, speakers may choose to address her by another teknonym that attaches her with her firstborn child. This teknonym is known as *mhana X* (mother of X). Also important is that fact that address inversion takes place between brothers and sisters when one of the two categories has his or her own children.

It is also found that some address terms are a result of borrowings. Cases in point are *mfo* from IsiZulu, 'doctor' from English, *Mkhulu* from IsiXhosa and *skoni* from Afrikaans. Some address terms are a consequence of creativity. Included in this category is *skhwiza* which is used instead of the traditional terms *n'wamaxalani* or *mihariva* (sister in-law). The study also finds that with a few exceptions, in-laws are addressed in the same way one addresses one's parents. Cases in point are *papa* (father) and *mhani* (mother) for both father and mother in-law on both sides of the marriage divides. There is, however, special mediated language used in the interactions with the in-laws. This mediated address lexicon uses both addressee and referent honorifics *mi* and *va* as well as the verbal honorific *-ni* as in *va byele-ni* (tell-HON him/her).

It is important to note that the choice of a form of address depends on the factors of age, sex, marital status, the presence of others in the encounter and the context of usage. In familial contexts, the forms of address range from the most impolite form to the most polite form. Consequently, it is expected that men normally address both their wives and children directly and asymmetrically downwardly using the non-honorific *u* and the singular second person pronoun *wena* (you). But in marked situations, men may converge upwards by addressing their spouses using the symmetrical kinship term *mhani*. Similarly, they may converge upwards when addressing their children in the workplace environments using their LNs.

It is also noteworthy that the forms used in reference are not necessarily the same as those in address. In this case, qualities and attitudes of the addressee may dictate the appropriate referent form to be used to the referent. Dickey (1997) and Nevala (2004) argue that address

usage is more consistent than reference usage. Unsurprisingly, address usage may be considered the ‘normal’ form from which convergence may be measured. In other words, direct address is the norm that governs reference because it (reference) derives from address. Referential terms “are often chosen and derived from the range of direct address formulae used of the referent either by the writer or the addressee,” (Nevala, 2004:2150). In order to measure the convergence of address usage, knowledge of how the speaker addresses, rather than, refers to, another, is required.

It has become apparent that forms of address in Xitsonga may manifest themselves through lexical items (e.g. *mhani*) and morphosyntactics (e.g. *mhani va ka hina*- the mother who belongs to us). They also range from honorifics, names, pronominal forms, titles, teknonyms and kinship terms.

6.2.2 Socio-cultural rules and contexts in the observation of address usage in Xitsonga

The second major finding of the study is that address behaviour is not a random behaviour in Xitsonga. There are socio-cultural rules and contexts of actual usage in different interpersonal relationships between interlocutors in dyadic encounters. In the various dyadic conversational contracts selected for the purpose of the study, it is found that there is a normal way of addressing specific categories of interlocutors in daily conversations. A telling point in this regard is the fact that parents use the non-honorific, the familiar pronoun *wena* and FNs to address their children. Husbands normally address their wives in the same way. In addition, husbands use teknonyms to address their wives. Children normally use the honorific *mi* when they address their fathers and the honorific *va* in reference. They also address and refer to them by the kinship term *papa* (father).

Socio-cultural rules also apply in marked contexts. Marked contexts are varied. They include conversations between interlocutors in the presence of other people (auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers) in the interlocutionary act but outside the dyad. A situation where the speaker wants to communicate affective meaning is also marked. So too is the birth or presence of children. A formal or workplace situation can also be considered a marked context.

Marked contexts are usually characterised by different socio-cultural rules of address engagement such as switching in address or address inversion. In illustration, a parent may address his boy child by his LN in a context where he (the child) has achieved an education, or in the presence of others in the workplace. The same rule, however, does not apply in Xitsonga in an address to a girl child. Instead of the LN, the parent may opt for the genitive *n'wananga* (my child) to praise his daughter. A person may converge upwards towards a younger pastor by addressing him using an honorific *mi* in church with whom he is at FN-terms at home.

Furthermore, it has been found that socio-cultural rules apply differently in reference where the referent is absent. The rules that apply here are informed by the interpersonal relationship, among others, between the speaker and the addressee. A man, for example, may refer to his father as *mukhalabye* (grandfather) when talking to his friend, but may refer to the same referent as *kokwana wa wena* (your grandfather) when talking to his grandson.

6.2.3 The application of Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity dynamics, politeness, accommodation, conversational analysis and the universalist principles

A third major finding is that the power and solidarity relations, the requirements for politeness, the need to accommodate the addressee and pragmatic implications have an impact on address behaviour in Xitsonga. These theories have been seen to be cross-cultural forces that form the basis for the use of forms of address.

The study has found that there is a two-structure second person pronoun in Xitsonga. The first is the singular form *wena*. This form ties in with the singular agreement marker/non-honorific *u* and is equated with the T form in European languages. This type of pronoun is used in two ways. It is used between solidarities; it is also used by a more powerful person to address a less powerful person. Consequently, this form can be equated with the Brown and Gilman's solidarity semantic.

The second pronominal form, *n'wina* (you-plural), is similar to the V pronoun in European languages. This form functions concurrently with the plural agreement marker/honorific *mi*.

It is also used in two ways. It is used among people of high status to address each other. Beside, it is used by the less powerful people to address people with power. It therefore does not come as a surprise to equate *n'wina* with the Brown and Gilman's power semantic.

Older people use *wena* to address younger people; younger people use *n'wina* to address older people. Men use *wena* to address women and children. Some people use the power semantic to address educated people, wealthier people and people with better social positions. Pastors and medical practitioners receive the power semantic across Xitsonga society.

Furthermore, it has been found that Xitsonga speakers use different strategies to communicate both positive and negative politeness to their interlocutors. Men, for example, give their wives and children positive politeness by addressing them using their FNs as a strategy to show their involvement in their (the addressees') affairs. Women and children address men by using the kinship term *papa* (father) as a signal of communicating negative politeness to the men. Through this strategy, the addressers give men respect, deference, independence and privacy.

With respect to accommodation, it has been noted that speakers choose address forms to converge upwards or downwards depending on the information that they want to communicate to the people in the interlocutionary act. Men, for instance, accommodate their children's colleagues by converging upwards when they address their children by their LNs instead of FNs in their presence (their colleagues'). A brother can accommodate his children by addressing his sister as *hahani* (aunt) in the presence of his children. In this way, he converges upwards to a superior kinship term.

In addition, the study has found that address usage in Xitsonga can be analysed using the Gricean theory of conversation. For example, when a man addresses his wife by the teknonym *Mhana-Sikheto* (the mother of Sikheto), it is possible to read a number of implicatures from this. The first is that the woman addressee is fertile and has a child named Sikheto, who happens to be her firstborn child. Sikheto is male and has attended the initiation ceremony that has transformed him into adulthood (the name Sikheto is given to male children who have undergone this ritual).

The theories examined in this research can be said to have universal applicability. Xitsonga society uses the address system to deal with power and solidarity semantics, issues of politeness, to accommodate others in the interactional engagement, and to make implications

from which inferences can be drawn. During interactions, there are socio-cultural rules of address behaviour that people follow. People neither have the same status nor do they have the same power. So the choice of a form of address is motivated by consideration of factors that pinpoint people's statuses. The reverse is also true: the differentiability in status and power implies that there is no equality between people. Thus, language simultaneously reflects and illustrates this inequality.

6.2.4 Address inversion as a characteristic of address behaviour in Xitsonga

The fourth finding of the study is that the Xitsonga address system is characterised by address inversion. Address inversion occurs when a senior address term or a superior status term is used reciprocally to the junior/inferior of the dyad (Braun, 1988 in Hwang, 1991). There are a number of factors that lead to address inversion. These factors have a certain impact on the interlocutors. Address inversion is brought about by the fact that address behaviour in Xitsonga is a system of graduation.

At birth, a child is addressed directly by the non-honorific, the singular second pronoun *wena* and his/her first name. These forms of address constitute a continuum of address from the least polite form to the most polite one. When the toddler matures into adulthood, switching takes place. For a person to qualify into the highest form of respect does not necessarily require achievement in terms of education, wealth or social position. Although men are born with higher statuses, for girls to ascend to better statuses, they must mature into adulthood, get married and have children. When a girl child establishes her own family, she inherits a new title (e.g. *Manana X*) or a teknonym *N'wa-X* (daughter of X). When she begets children, she graduates into *mhana X* (mother of X). But for males, deference is inherited at birth. This ensures that a boy child is already his LN at birth. A speaker can address the boy in his LN as a form of address inversion in any context without reading anything abnormal about the form. When a person matures further into old age, other forms of address are used. It is common cause that in old age, a person becomes a *kokwana* (grandmother or grandfather).

The birth of children also affects the relationship between siblings. When a woman gets married, she will address her sister-in-law as *n'wamaxalani* or *mihariva* (sister-in-law). This changes to *hahani* (aunt) when she begets children. Similarly, on the basis of her children,

she will switch from addressing her brother as *boti* (brother) to *malume* (uncle). It is, therefore, apparent that in Xitsonga address behaviour is dynamic rather than static.

6.2.5 Zero address as a characteristic of address behaviour in Xitsonga

The fifth finding of the study is that address behaviour is characterised by zero address. The first name is the most commonly avoided form of address. Speakers avoid the FNs of their interlocutors as a strategy to achieve the realities of the power and status relational dynamics. Men and women avoid each other's names in different contexts to achieve different realities. As a norm, for example, women avoid their husband's names both in address and in reference to respect the inherent power and status that men have over them. Children too avoid their fathers' and mothers' first names for similar reasons.

Men, as well, avoid their wives' names in reference to hide the fact that they use FNs in address. They will, instead, use other forms such as *nsati* (wife). But the use of *nsati* is not as respectful as men would like it to be. The strategy of using this kinship term is meant to hide the fact that men do not address their wives with deference. To illustrate this, in a conversation with an older person, the man will most likely avoid using this form of address in reference to his wife for fear that its use may elicit a backlash from the elderly addressee.

A married woman avoids addressing the majority of her family members by their first names. The FNs of her in-laws, including her sisters and brothers in-law, are avoided. Neighbours are also not addressed by their first names. Brothers and sisters are not expected to address each other by first names. In some cases, the younger brother may avoid addressing his older brother through the deferential kinship term *boti* (brother) and instead use the place locative *ka*. It appears that it is mainly children that are addressed by first names. But this too is not without qualification. When the children are grown ups with their own families, parents tend to discontinue this practice. In the workplaces and other formal situations, some parents may avoid their children's FN in favour of other forms of address. A speaker may use a humbling form *a* combined with an honorific *mi* to address a stranger as a strategy to avoid addressing him or her as *papa/mhani* (father/mother), *malume/hahani* (uncle/aunt) or *boti/sesi* (brother/sister) depending on the apparent differences in the ages of the interlocutors.

6.2.6 Generic address forms

It has been noted that it is difficult to pinpoint generic terms for male and female strangers in dyadic encounters in Xitsonga. The problem is that addressing strangers is heavily influenced by the apparent age of the addressee. When a person meets a stranger, judgement is first made about his/her sex. Once this has been established, the next phase requires one to assess their age. Of course, the use of language avoidance, honorifics and humbling lexemes is the safest way of avoiding conflict of choice of address forms to strangers. But some contexts are not conducive to the application of this strategy. In other words, there are contexts that require the speaker to specify the form of address in an interlocution with a stranger. One of these contexts is the development of a longer conversation between the parties.

The addresser has many choices. From the speaker's perspective, a young person would be addressed as either *boti* (brother) or *sesi* (sister) depending on his or apparent age. The terms *malume* (uncle) and *hahani* (aunt) have been seen to be offensive and thus they are the least favourite among the people of Hlanganani. For the average male and female addressees, the kinship terms *bava/papa* (father) and *mhani* (mother) are usually the preferred terms for addressing strangers. In fact, these forms express more deference than *malume* and *hahani*. The use of the terms (*bava/papa* and *mhani*) elevates the addressees to the level of a father and a mother, respectively. In this way, the stranger's independence and status is appreciated and respected.

The socio-cultural rule of address inversion allows for the reciprocal use of a senior kinship term to the inferior of the dyad (Braun, 1988 in Hwang, 1991). The use of *papa/mhani* can be cited as one such example. It, therefore, follows that the kinship terms *bava/papa* and *mhani* can be regarded as prototypical generic address forms in Xitsonga.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

This section on conclusions is further divided into two subsections.

6.3.1 Age as a primary determiner of address behaviour in Xitsonga

The study has identified a number of forms of address that obtain in various dyadic encounters in Xitsonga. It has been established that there are a multiplicity of factors that account for the variation in address usage in different interpersonal relations between the interlocutors. A number of unwritten yet known socio-cultural rules account for these choices. According to Robinson (1972) in Samavarchi et al. (2010:114),

there are two types of societies. One in which a person's status comes from their achievements. The other in which status is ascribed i.e. it is their birthright. In the former kind, few distinctions are made in address and in the latter, there are finely graded address terms.

One of the conclusions that emerges from this study is that in the Xitsonga speaking area of Hlanganani, status is ascribed to the male sex as its birthright. Thus, in normal face-to-face contexts of private spousal conversational engagement, men address their wives directly using the non-honorific *u*, the asymmetrical pronoun *wena* and their first names or teknonyms. They may, of course, switch to other finely graded address forms as the wife graduates to other statuses such as becoming a mother. They may also switch to other forms such as TLN in marked contexts like workplaces.

Frajzyngier and Jirsa (2006:523) argue that “The second-person singular pronoun and/or the first name are the most direct means of address existing within the grammatical system of a language. If a language uses both forms as the form of address, the use of the second-person singular is more direct than the use of the proper name.” Thus, if a man decides to address his wife by her ‘daughter of X’ tekronym, he will still address her by the second person singular pronoun *wena*. But it would appear that in Xitsonga, the most direct way of addressing a person is the use of the non-honorific *u* because unlike the FN and the singular second person

pronoun, the non-honorific is an integrated part of a sentence. Consequently, it has the highest functional load. This can be illustrated as follows:

U lava yini (wena) (Gezani)?

NON-HON want what (you-SING.) (Gezani)?

Gezani, what do you want?

In the example above, the brackets indicate the low functional load of the pronoun (*wena*) and the FN (*Gezani*) as compared to the larger functional load of the non-honorific *u*. In simple terms, the use of the non-honorific is compulsory in a face-to-face dyadic encounter between two unequal interlocutors because it is an integrated element of the sentence. Thus, whereas it is possible to address an interlocutor without the use of the pronoun or the FN, a conversation is not possible without the inclusion of the non-honorific. As a result, the use of the non-honorific is the most direct way of address. The singular second person pronoun becomes the second most direct form of address because by definition, pronouns substitute nouns which include proper nouns (see Kubayi, 2013). In other words, unless when it is done purposefully in order to emphasise a particular point, it is grammatically redundant to keep on repeating an addressee's name in a conversation.

Direct address can be formalised through a hierarchy, as follows:

NON-HON < SW < FN

It should, however, be pointed out that each of the forms of direct address identified in the hierarchy above entail one another. The use of the NON-HON implies the use of SW and or the FN. Where a lower status person addresses a higher status individual, the honorific is the most direct form of address because, once again, unlike the plural second person pronoun (*n'wina*), and or its attendant KT, the honorific is an integrated component of a sentence. This can be illustrated as follows:

Mi lava yini (n'wina) (papa)?

HON want what (you-Pl.) (father)?

Father, what do you want?

From the above illustration, it is clear that unlike the plural second person pronoun *n'wina* and the kinship term *papa*, the honorific cannot be done away with; it is embedded in the sentence, making it the most direct way of expressing deference to the addressee. In line with

Frajzyngier and Jirsa's (2006) theory, this hypothesis can be formalised by the following hierarchy:

HON < SN < KT

Another emergent conclusion from the study is that in referential encounters to their spouses in the presence of other people, men choose other forms other than FNs, thereby avoid their wives' FNs. By contrast, men's names are completely avoided by women in both address and secluded referential interactions with others. Even in private dyadic interactions, women still avoid using their husbands' FNs. Instead, they use the honorific *mi* and or the pronoun of power *n'wina* to address their men. The avoidance of names by women can be thought of as a conflict of norms in a situation of high status with high solidarity (see Holmes 1992). Women give men high status and simultaneously give themselves high solidarity as women. This kind of linguistic behaviour by women can find its explanation by Chipunza (2007:129) who puts it as follows:

In sum then, I am inclined to explain the noted tendencies of how men and women use language in meetings primarily in terms of the gender-role socialisation theory which emphasises that men and women are born into different subcultures and that through the different socialisation experiences, they learn to behave in ways that are largely consistent with gender-role expectations. Men and women are therefore acculturated into using different strategies for expressing and using power and this, I argue, influences their linguistic and interactional behaviour.

Chipunza (2007) explains the differential behaviour between the sexes in terms of differential gender-role socialisation. It is suggested that gender-role socialisation results in inequality between men and women. This inequality is manifested in asymmetrical address behaviour. The differential address behaviour between men and women can also be traced in other areas of their socio-cultural lives.

First, a man pays lobola to a woman so that he makes her his wife. She then relocates to his parental home where she establishes a parent-child relationship with her in-laws. The man becomes the breadwinner who bears all the risks to support the woman in every way possible. Thus, whether or not the woman is a skilled labourer who can fend for herself is immaterial. If and when the man migrates to the cities in search of employment opportunities, the woman

is expected to remain at home to look after both her children and her in-laws. But this long-distance relationship is usually made under the pretext that there is a need to separate a workplace and a home. So while a man is free to look for employment opportunities in any part of the country, the woman should focus on building and maintaining a home. The usual consequence of this type of arrangement is, of course, the destruction of the social fabric of the society.

The man assumes the role of the head of the family and therefore makes all the major decisions for its smooth-running. This expectation entails that women live under the care and livelihood of men. This makes this type of a society a patriarchal society. Unsurprisingly, this asymmetrical social structure is manifested in the linguistic structure, specifically in address behaviour within the family structure. The man addresses both his spouse and his children downwardly by the non-honorific, the singular second person pronoun and by their first names.

The extension of education to women has not had a major impact in the dilution of the asymmetrical address behaviour between men and women in Xitsonga culture. This can be seen from the perspectives of young women who participated in the study. There seems to be a wide consensus from this section of the society to maintain the asymmetrical socio-cultural rule later on in marriage. They, for example, indicate the need to switch address behaviour from the current NON-HON/SW/FN as girlfriends to HON/SN/KT (*papa*) to their husbands once they have tied the knot. This entails that presumably, the South African education system (with all its accompanying western norms and value systems) does not necessarily result in the erosion of all cultural practices. The young medical doctor (31), for instance, does not foresee a future marital relationship where she will address her husband on an equal footing.

Similar conclusions about the impact of the education system in address usage can also be drawn from address engagement used by the educated middle class women. Despite their job security and steady incomes, they find nothing wrong with the socio-cultural rule that places them in a lower address status than their husbands. This, however, does not necessarily mean that education does not play a role in the erosion of certain socio-cultural practices that are found obsolete and redundant. The practices of kneeling down before one's husband and the avoidance of eye-contact, for example, are increasingly being discarded by modern women.

All indications point out that many sections of the society are party to the maintenance and the perpetuation of the patriarchal interpersonal system of address engagement in Xitsonga. It is against this background that some women are unable to relegate their husbands to their own *wena*-status even when they are under heavy negative emotional states. A practice of address usage that has defied the rigour of education (read western culture) cannot be explained only in terms of gender-role socialisation. Education, together with the ushering in of democracies across the African continent, it must be noted, has removed women from the kitchen; it has placed them at the centre of economic activities; and it has created equal opportunities of every citizen irrespective of one's sex, creed or colour. But it appears that the education system, which is in the forefront in the creation of the egalitarian society, is being defied by the address system, at least in terms of address behaviour between men and women as it pertains to the people of Hlanganani. From this, it can be concluded that the asymmetric linguistic structure is a deep-rooted practice whose origin can be traced within the age-set society that values a person on the basis of who was born first rather than their achievements.

Phiyega (2013:14) writes:

Let me deal with this small matter of you “showing respect” by calling me Ous Riah. It is refreshing to note that in this morally bankrupt society of today, there are those of younger generation who continue to uphold the age-long values of respect to those older than themselves. To take this spirit to the logical conclusion, I’m not your “Ous Riah”, I am “Mme Riah” since you and my daughter are of the same age.

Phiyega's article is in apparent response to another written by a journalist whom she names as Makhudu. In her article Phiyega rejects being addressed as Ous Riah on the basis that she is older than her interlocutor. She intimates that younger people must show deference to older people and that this determination is an age-long value system even among the Northern Sotho speakers. Phiyega is a Northern Sotho speaker who was born and raised in Polokwane (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riah_Phiyega).

It has been noted that a person's financial status is also not a necessary criterion for address switching in Xitsonga. People who switch address on the basis of the addressee's good financial position are considered grovellers for kick-backs from their interlocutors. Their address is, therefore, not genuine. In the same vein, Xitsonga speakers do not see a person's

social position as a value deserving elevated address. With a pastor, however, the situation is different. People see the need to accord the position of a pastor a higher status regardless of his/her age especially in the presence of others. It is clear that people recognise the important role that religion plays in the society. The pastor, through his/her sermons, brings people closer to God, resulting in both proper social and linguistic behaviour.

It also appears that besides a pastor, people recognise the important role that medical practitioners play in the society. The confession by the young doctor (31) that older people are now giving her elevated address serves as enough proof that the medical profession is highly appreciated and recognised in African societies. By treating people's physical afflictions, medical practitioners also restore people's devastated emotions. In this way, doctors are indispensable professionals of the society.

A further conclusion is that the social structure of the Xitsonga-speaking society as it is manifested in Hlanganani keeps women almost to the status of children. This theory also finds its foundation in the address given to children. While, for example, both male and female children are normally addressed by their FNs, only male children can be addressed by their family names. Family names or surnames are automatically and permanently inherited by boy children after birth, and indicate their parentage, family, or clan membership (see Hanks, 2006). Girl children are also given family names after birth but only temporarily pending their expected marriage later in late adolescent or adulthood.

Both men and women are aware of the status of men as possessors and inheritors of their family names and of women as default owners. Thus, the birth of a male child symbolises the continuation of the family lineage to be passed on for generations in posterity; the birth of a female child is not met with ululation because she is a *huku yo khomela vayeni* (a chicken waiting to be slaughtered for the visitors). A woman is, therefore, not given the same status as a man. This, again, illustrates why the address system is skewed in favour of men.

Men also use the age variable to demand elevated address behaviour from both women and children in Xitsonga conversational engagement. In the cultural practices of Africans, it is expected that a wife is always relatively younger than her husband. Men who enter into matrimonial relationships with women who are older than themselves are shunned and accused of going against established customs. Besides their birthright statuses as the male species, which assure them the inheritance of superiority, men also use their age superiority to demand deference from women.

Even in marked contexts where a woman is overwhelmed by a psychological state of negative emotions, and thus decides to address her husband by the non-honorific *u*, the solidarity pronoun *wena*, and his FN, the man may remind her, and insist, that he be addressed properly because *a ni ntangha ya wena* (literally: I am older than you). The thrust of this statement is that a woman is required, at all times, to address her husband deferentially because after all, she is the younger of the two. During the expression of an emotional altercation where the wife addresses her husband in lowering terms, female passers-by may exclaim to themselves: *Yhii, hi wona ma hlamulele ya nuna ya lawa!* (Phew, is that how you address your husband!).

The question is whether or not there exists a linguistic structure that is founded on equal terms in all respects. The fact that people have different statuses that they have earned, whether through birth or achievements, and which they want acknowledged, appreciated and recognised, imply, at least in theory, that a structure that is founded on equality may not exist after all.

The age factor as a determiner of address behaviour in Xitsonga is also evident from the manner in which children acquire language. The firstborn child may well be addressed by his FN. But this is not until his/her younger sibling is born. From this moment onwards, the mother may converge upwards and address the older brother or sister by the kinship term *boti* (brother) to the male child or *sesi* (sister) to the female one. This strategy is designed to accommodate the younger child to follow suit. In so doing, the toddler learns to avoid his/her brother's or sister's FN and simultaneously express deference to him or her. Thus, in the presence of the younger sibling, the older ceases to be FN just as in the presence of the child, the wife ceases to be FN. During language acquisition, children also avoid addressing their parents using their FNs. It is clear that the use of language in Hlanganani entails that a person's age determines one's interactional engagement with the interlocutor in the dyad. It is also apparent that FN avoidance is the norm in Xitsonga. Peers or friends, for example, may habitually use FNs to each other but will avoid this in favour of LNs as they mature in old age or in the presence of others.

Even in referential usage, there is always a requirement to consider one's audience. This consideration, and the fact that members of the audience differ in terms of age, marital status, gender and occupation, among others, implies that language considers the elements of the context in which it is used. A speaker cannot use language in a *laissez faire* way on the basis

of the absent addressee. Both the addresser and the addressee have, in their possessions, socio-cultural rules that have to be followed, preserved and maintained. The flouting of one of these maxims may result in the rebuke of the guilty party in the interlocutory interaction.

Some of these unwritten rules may be feelings of the interlocutors of the appropriateness or otherwise of certain forms of interlocutory behaviour. Feelings are also informed by experience and considerations for the need for conformity to appropriate language usage. To this extent, language behaviour is constrained by the considerations of the rules of the game of contractual interactions. In this connection, Grice's (1975) cooperative principle, read together with the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner, is a pointer of the requirement to conform to correct language behaviour. The display of conventional standards of acceptable linguistic behaviour disperses harmony, peace and stability within structures of the society. Its flouting, on the other hand, diffuses disharmony, tension and conflict.

The variable of age can also be discussed within the contexts of interpersonal relationships. In the case of adult brothers and adult sisters, for instance, in the presence of his child, a brother addresses his (including the younger) sister as *hahani* (aunt). Likewise, in the presence of her children, a sister avoids her brother's name and instead settles for the address inversion *malume* (uncle). Again, the strategy is to avoid the addressees' FNs and at the same time to protect children from acquiring impolite language.

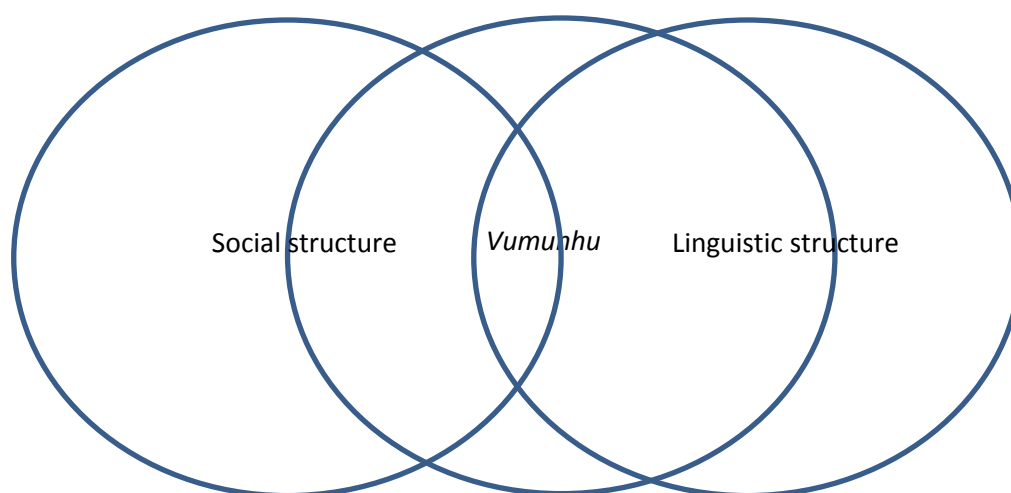
The need to protect children from 'impure' language cannot be overemphasised. Cook and Newson (1996) write that according to Chomsky, the prerequisite to language acquisition is exposure to a particular linguistic input irrespective of how minimal or impoverished it (the input) may be. Likewise, according to the behaviourists, all (linguistic) behaviours are acquired and shaped by the environment (which includes the linguistic input) through operant conditioning (Skinner, 2005). Although Chomsky's innateness hypothesis and Skinner's behaviourism theory can be located at two different ends of the continuum, the two approaches of language acquisition share the view that without some form of language input, language acquisition or learning becomes impossible. In other words, language acquisition is, to a greater or smaller extent, dependent on the language that the child hears from its speakers. Hence, the child picks up what he/she observes from the people around him/her. It, therefore, goes without saying that if, for example, a brother addresses his younger sister by

her FN in the presence of his child, the hypothesis is that the latter will acquire this apparent incorrect linguistic behaviour. By contrast, if he addresses her as *hahani*, so will the child.

The strategy to address a brother and a sister as *malume* and *hahani* respectively, implicates a new interpersonal form of address engagement beyond address inversion. It uplifts the addressees into superior kinship terms and simultaneously elevates them to new social statuses that they did not enjoy before. In other words, the addressees are given two new face: the social face and the linguistic face. From now henceforth, they are expected to live and to display these faces. If they (the addressees) were naughty, they may find this incorrect social behaviour no longer fit for human consumption. If they were vulgar, they are also expected to refrain from this.

In short, their new statuses force them to display acceptable social behaviour or *vumunhu*. Thus, *vumunhu* is a consequence of conformity to correct linguistic behaviour. In this way, the linguistic structure determines the social structure. But this relationship can be seen as bidirectional because correct social behaviour can also be a basis for correct linguistic behaviour. Consequently, the relationship between the social structure and the linguistic structure is bidirectional rather than unidirectional. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the relationship between the social structure and the linguistic structure:

Figure 6.1: The relationship between the social structure and the linguistic structure



It is apparent from the figure above that the relationship between the social structure and the linguistic structure has the consequence of bringing about *vumumhu*. In simple terms, for a person to be described as having *vumunhu*, he or she must satisfy the value systems in both structures because they encapsulate correct social behaviour and correct linguistic behaviour.

The switch by the adults to the kinship terms *malume* and *hahani* when addressing their siblings as a result of the reproduction of children, and then permanently thereafter, indicates that kinship terms are the primary modes of address within the family structure. This view is shared by Foley (1997) who holds that age and kinship links are the basic building blocks of the social structure in age-set societies as well as important variables in determining correct linguistic usage. The implication is that under normal circumstances with everything being equal, except in the case of toddlers, interlocutors would desist from addressing each other by their first names. But because relationships result in the establishment of new forms of interactional engagement (for example, the birth of new children), toddlers also graduate into *boti* (brother) or *sesi* (sister) statuses by which they are addressed. Later, they graduate into other elevated forms of address depending on their maturity into older ages, and maturity into marital relationships and the subsequent reproduction of offsprings.

So far, it becomes apparent that Hlanganani as a speech community is an age-set society. But it is also a patriarchal society. The non-honorific, the SW, and the FN are the most direct forms of address that can be used to any addressee in this society. It is also clear that the kinship term is the most polite form of address in the expression of deference in this society. In marked contexts, Xitsonga speakers may adopt standard forms of address. It is important to note this point because titles such as *Tatana X* (Mr X) or *Manana X* (Mrs, Miss, Ms X) are the preserve of standard language rather than the raw linguistic input observed in real-life situations. In this sense, these forms are the direct outcome of education, which, as has been seen, is not a primary determinant of address choice in Xitsonga society. As a result, these forms are reserved, at least in theory, exclusively for writing and other formal domains such workplaces and the delivery of speeches in formal ceremonies (graduation ceremonies, birthday parties, etc). Their use is, therefore, marked.

6.3.2 Address behaviour as othering in Xitsonga

Address behaviour is influenced by multiple factors. The presence of others outside the dyad but inside the interlocutionary act has a major impact in address usage. The rules of address in the dyadic context of private spousal engagement in the bedroom may never be known unless through overhearing or eavesdropping and or the assistance of intrusive technology.

Bell (1984) distinguishes four types of audience in an interlocution. The first and main character in the audience is the second person, or the addressee. The others are third parties who are present but not being directly addressed, namely auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers. The presence of eavesdroppers in an interaction is usually unknown and their presence can either be intentional or accidental. These four types of audience also imply their role in language choice by the speaker. Each of the four roles may be imagined to be more incrementally, a (physical) distant from the speaker. The following hierarchy illustrates this:

Speaker < Addressee < Auditor < Overhearer > Eavesdropper

From the hierarchy above, it is clear that the addressee, who is the second person, is physically the closest audience member to the speaker, and the eavesdropper is the farthest. The speaker assigns a role to each audience member, and through the choice of a form of address on each, grades the effect, (Ibid., 1984). Thus, eavesdroppers, by definition, are unable to effect a speaker's choice of address. They can, however, do so under marked contexts where the speaker is aware of their presence.

The need to consider other people is an important requirement in the determination of address usage. Othering can be discussed under a number of (marked) contexts. The conversational contract between spouses in the presence of others who may or may not necessarily be interested in their interaction will normally show consideration for these people.

In normal daily usage, othering can be observed from a husband who addresses his wife by her FN when he realises that nobody is listening; he may use the teknonym *n'wa-X* (daughter of X) in front of the children; he can choose *mhana X* (mother of X) in the presence of her friends; and *mhani* (mother) in the presence of his friends. A woman may address her sister as *muhulu/mhanintsongo* (senior/junior mother) in the presence of her children, as *mhani X* (mother X) or *Manana X* (Mrs X) in front of the addressee's husband. Audience design can

also be discussed within the context of address switching to, for example, *malume* by a sister to a brother due to the birth of children.

Othring is also manifested in reference by a boyfriend to a girlfriend. He may address her as *cheri ya mina* (*my girlfriend*) in interactions with friends, *nsati wa mina* (*my wife*) in a conversation where his mother and *nghamu ya mina* (*my sweetheart*) when he sees his lecturer. In an address to young medical practitioners in the workplace, some people have contemplated addressing them deferentially in the presence of their colleagues. A younger brother may address his older sibling by the solidarity pronoun *wena* in private but switches to the power semantic *n'wina* in the presence of his father. The consideration for others can also be extended in conversations between neighbours, between friends and in interactions with familiar people and strangers.

The relationship between the speaker and his audience can be summarised as follows:

It assumes that persons respond mainly to other persons, that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk. The *speaker* is first person, primary participant at the moment of speech, qualitatively apart from other interlocutors. The first person's characteristics account for speech differences between speakers. However, speakers design their style for their audience. Differences within the speech of a single speaker are accountable as the influence of the second person and some third persons, who together compose the audience to a speaker's utterances (Bell, 1984:159).

Although Bell downplays the role of third parties in audience design, from the perspective of the researcher of the present study, third persons have an impactful role in address design in Xitsonga. This is mainly because addressing another person entails the consideration of a multiplicity of factors. Some of these factors are the age of the addressees, their marital status, their gender, their occupation and their interpersonal relationship with the speaker, among others. Thus, address usage is a complex matter, which, at times, involves quick decision-making about, for example, inversion and avoidance. This also implies that although it may be possible to isolate factors that are considered by a speaker in his/her usage of linguistic behaviour, the final judgements that are made to employ a particular address form cannot be known for certainty. Nor can it be known for certainty what a particular address form mean.

Leech (1983) argues that it is impossible to be ultimately certain of what a speaker means by an utterance, or to come to the definite conclusion about its meaning because it (the utterance) is liable to illocutionary indeterminacy. Its interpretation is determined by the observable conditions, the utterance and the context, among other factors, in a specific dyad. Interpreting an utterance is ultimately a matter of hypothesis formation or guesswork. Interpretation is probabilistic. The presence of third parties outside the dyad further complicates matters. This notwithstanding, contexts do assist in the interpretation of address usage. What is problematic is the extent to which contexts influence address design. However, evidence in the study leads the researcher to come to the conclusion that the presence of other people in the face-to-face encounter has a major impact on the choice of the address forms between interlocutors. This has been aptly demonstrated by switching in address usage between spouses in the presence of others.

Finally, it has become apparent that age is the primary determiner of address choice in Xitsonga. Following age is a person's sex. In terms of sex, men reign supreme. Women and children are expected to lower themselves in the presence of men, both socially and linguistically. Linguistically, women and children are obliged to use more polite forms both in address and in reference to men.

The fact that a person's age and sex determine address behaviour implies that Hlanganani is an age-set patriarchal society, and that adherence to conversational principles of cooperation are negotiated primarily by consideration to these factors between the parties in the interlocutionary act. Of course, the choice of address is also made possible by concurrent consideration of issues concerning the differential power dynamics, issues of politeness, and the desire to accommodate other actors outside the dyad. Since power is non-reciprocal, men and older people are given elevated address.

In terms of social behaviour, for example, young people stand up from their seats to allow older people to sit. Linguistically, older people have the final say in the resolution of serious matters. Where the social and the linguistic interpersonal relationship is one between men and women, men take precedence. A person's marital status follows after the consideration of age and sex. For, instance, an older person reserves the right to address a younger married woman by the solidarity pronoun *wena* even in the presence of her husband. A person's education, occupation, wealth and social position hold peripheral status in address usage. The following hierarchy demonstrates this relation.

Age < sex > marital status > education > social position > wealth

The correct choice of address in terms of the unwritten rules of socio-cultural behaviour constitutes what it means to be human or to have *vumunhu*. *Vumunhu* in Hlanganani is, therefore, the recognition of one's age and sex in one's projection of one's behaviour both socially and linguistically. Seen in this sense, *vumunhu* is a universal principle that is manifested variously cross-socio-pragmatically.

Within the Xitsonga-speaking people of Hlanganani, a person's seniority in age constitutes his/her negative face, his/her desire for privacy, for respect, for autonomy and for independence. If a speaker were to avoid conflict and other negative consequences, he/she is expected to conform to proper address behaviour. Similarly, men are given negative face in Hlanganani. Their independence must be respected by both women and children. In other societies, they may earn their negative face through their achievements in wealth and education. In Hlanganani it is through the respect for a person's seniority in age, and men as the superior sex that a person is considered as having *vumunhu*. But *vumunhu* takes place within conventional and conversational socio-cultural rules of *nhlonipho* which consider issues of power dynamics as informed by age-based norms, practices and values of proper behaviour.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has focused on the forms of address used by the Xitsonga-speaking people of Hlanganani, Limpopo Province, South Africa. It has been observed that the primary factor in the choice of address usage is a person's age thus, the conclusion that Hlanganani is an age-set but also a patriarchal society. Other factors, however, do play a role, for example, marital status and the presence of others. From this perspective, it is possible to make recommendations for future research initiatives.

A number of forms of address used in various familial and non-familial dyadic encounters have been identified. But these forms are believed to hold true within the boundaries of Hlanganani as a speech community. In other speech communities beyond the borders of this region, the contexts of usage may be different. Researchers may then be interested in

undertaking studies that focus on other Xitsonga-speaking speech communities. A speech community has been defined as “a group of people who form a community, e.g. a village, a region, a nation, and who have at least one SPEECH VARIETY in common. In BILINGUAL and MULTILINGUAL communities, people would usually have more than one speech variety in common”, (Richards et al., 1985:266).

Xitsonga speech communities are vast. Within the borders of Limpopo Province, South Africa, in addition to Hlanganani, most Xitsonga speakers are concentrated in such places as Nkowankowa, Malamulele, Giyani, N’wamitwa, Muhlava, and Bushbuckridge (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tsonga_language). Xitsonga is a home language in some parts of Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal Provinces. Cities such as Polokwane, Pretoria and Johannesburg are also home to Xitsonga speakers. Beyond the borders of South Africa, Xitsonga stretches to Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

Since each of these places may be thought of as constituting a different speech community, it is certain that research works may discover different but similar findings about the rules of conversational engagement in different dyads. In the Bushbuckridge area, for example, it appears that the singular second pronoun *wena* and its accompanying agreement marker *u* is used solely as a grammatical morpheme to express singularity of subject. In other words, the morpheme does not assume the socio-pragmatic status of a non-honorific because everybody is apparently addressed as *wena* in that region. Similarly, the second person plural pronoun *n’wina* and its accomplice, the subject plural agreement *mi* are used to express plurality of subject in the region. Future research works may therefore seek to discover socio-cultural rules of address behaviour between the different members of the speech community in that area.

Besides Xitsonga, it is possible to observe address behaviour across the different cultures in the rest of the African continent. It would be a worthwhile experience to have studies whose sole purpose is to venture into the socio-pragmatic use of the address system in these languages. Such studies are bound to discover rich accounts of the similarities and differences between, for example, the socio-cultural rules, practices, norms and values that underlie address choice within the Niger-Congo language families of which Xitsonga is one. Lehman (1973:19) writes as follows:

Many of the languages of Europe and Asia are interrelated. Most apparent is similarity of basic vocabulary: words for lower numerals, kinship, domestic animals, and everyday activities. But even more convincing are the similarities one finds in the systems of sounds and forms.

The interrelationship between languages is clearly not limited to Asian and European languages. It can also be extended to African languages. There are, for example, similarities in kinship relationships in the formal aspects of languages, namely phonology, the basic lexicon and syntax. The following figure illustrates the phonological and lexical kinship term relationship between Xitsonga, Northern Sotho and Tshivenda. Northern Sotho and Tshivenda are South African languages spoken mostly in Limpopo Province (see figure 6.2 below):

Figure 6.2: The phonological and lexical kinship term relationship between Xitsonga, Northern Sotho and Tshivenda

Xitsonga	Northern Sotho	Tshivenda	
<i>Mhani</i>	<i>mma</i>	<i>mma</i>	mother
<i>Papa</i>	<i>papa</i>	<i>baba/khotsi</i>	father
<i>Malume</i>	<i>malome</i>	<i>malume</i>	mother's brother
<i>Hahani</i>	<i>rakgadi</i>	<i>makhadzi</i>	father's sister
<i>Sivara</i>	<i>sebara</i>	<i>sivhara</i>	wife's younger brother
<i>papankulu</i>	<i>ramogolo</i>	<i>khotsimuhulu</i>	father's older brother
<i>Papantsongo</i>	<i>rangwane</i>	<i>khotsimunene</i>	father's younger brother

Source: Oral sources; public domain

It should be clear from the examples in the figure above that the kinship terms in Xitsonga, Northern Sotho and Tshivenda show similarities not only orthographically, but also lexically

and phonologically. It should also be appreciated that unlike English which only uses ‘uncle’, African languages have distinct kinship terms for mother’s brother, father’s older brother and father’s younger brother. Future works may seek to undertake more detailed examination of the implicatures in the distinction in these and other terms of a similar kind within a particular speech community.

It may be argued that similarities between languages are not only restricted to formal aspects of the language but also to its socio-pragmatical aspects (see also Heine and Nurse, 2000). It is important to venture into these possibilities because a purely grammatical analysis of a language phenomenon is insufficient to understand the impact of socio-cultural contexts in the interface between society, language and implicatures.

Comparative studies may be a useful point of departure. As this study has demonstrated, such accounts will hopefully discover the relationships that exist between the linguistic system and the social system. It has been pointed out, for instance, that in Xitsonga, the two influence each other in complex ways. Further studies may also go a long way in unravelling the impact of othering in address design between interlocutors. It is also important to understand the impact of the variables of education, sex, occupation, interpersonal relationships, social classes and kinship relationships in the establishment of the rules of politeness behaviour cross-linguistically.

The present study has examined different dyads both within and without the family structures. Within the family setting, for example, the focus has been on the face-to-face encounters between the spouses, between parents and children, and between children themselves. This has made the study more exploratory than it would provide detailed narratives of each dyadic interaction. Future research works may well dwell on detailed analysis of specific dyadic encounters. For example, the researcher can only pay attention to the interactional engagement between spouses. The spouses can be categorised in terms of their educational levels, age, socio-economic class and occupation.

This study has used a qualitative research design and semi-structured interviews as data gathering techniques from the participants. To this end, future studies may test the use of direct observation of actual usage of address (see Oyetade, 1995). Studies of that nature may yield useful results in terms of the divergences in the choice of different address forms in different contexts by the spouses, for example. Information gathered through direct observations may tend to provide detailed examination of the phenomenon that the semi-

structured interviews may not have been able to. In addition, it would be interesting to find out the quality of results brought about by quantitative studies in the same and or different speech communities on the phenomenon of address usage in various dyadic encounters.

This study focused on the tenets of Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity theory, politeness theory, Grice's conversational analysis and the universalist frameworks. It would be useful to find out how these theories are applicable to address usage in the rest of the African languages. In the future, the applicability of these theories in the study of socio-pragmatic phenomena may require that these theories be tested singly or in combinations. The goal of such projects would be to discover their usefulness within the context of socio-pragmatics across the various speech communities of various languages. Extensive studies are required for more knowledge of African languages beyond formal linguistics.

Consequently, it is believed that this study has paved the way for researchers of African languages to go beyond the confines of the grammatical analysis of these languages. The challenge is to undertake studies that focus broadly on language use through both a sociolinguistic and a pragmatic approach. A socio-pragmatic framework locates the study of languages beyond the language itself. Languages should not simply be seen within the scope of linguistic elements that constitute them. They should also be located within socio-cultural rules, norms, practices and values where they find their real-life usage. More importantly, they should be located within the contexts of implicatures. These contexts require the analyst to examine the factors that are considered by the speaker in his/her choice of specific forms of address during actual language behaviour. Of course, in that choice, the speaker also dwells on paralanguage. Thus, in the analysis of address behaviour and other language phenomena, future researchers may well be advised to consider this aspect.

6.5 Summary

This chapter focused on the findings of the study, conclusions and recommendations. It has been noted that the key factor that determines address usage in Xitsonga is age. In dyadic interactions, the speaker judges a person for the purposes of address choice primarily on the basis of this variable. Other than that, the sex of the person determines which of the terms should be used. Men are thus given more elevated address than women. Marriage and

children are also important determinants of address usage in Xitsonga culture because they lead to address switching, which may become permanent as well. It has also been seen that the presence of other people is a significant determinant of address behaviour in Xitsonga. In addition to the findings of the study, conclusions have been drawn and a number of recommendations have been made. These recommendations are pointers of future research works in different speech communities across languages.

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APPENDIX A

Fact Sheet

Name (optional)

.....

Age

.....

Gender

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Marital status

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Marriage
- ☐ Divorcee
- ☐ Widow/widower

Occupation

.....

Education

- ☐ No education
- ☐ Primary education
- ☐ Secondary education
- ☐ Post matric education
- ☐ Undergraduate education
- ☐ Postgraduate education

Social class

- ☐ Pensioner
- ☐ Working class
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Retiree

- ☐ **Businessman**
- ☐ **Village chief**
- ☐ **Middle class**

APPENDIX B

Informed Consent

My name is Joe Kubayi. I am a lecturer at the University of Limpopo. I am currently a D Litt et Phil student at the University of South Africa. I am conducting a study on “Address forms in Xitsonga: a socio-pragmatic perspective”. The study is undertaken at Hlanganani Area, Limpopo Province, South Africa. I would like you to share with me your understanding and experiences of how you use names, titles, teknonyms, pronouns, honorifics and kinship terms in Xitsonga in various interactions. My role would therefore be to ask you questions and to make follow-ups where necessary. Everything that we are going to discuss will be treated with utmost respect and confidentiality. Your names, phone numbers and other personal information will not be released to other people or be presented in the research without your consent. A recorder will be used in order to capture all the issues that we are going to discuss. The interview discussion will not take more than one hour.

I agree to participate in the study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX C

Semi-structured Interview Guide

1. From the list (A-M) below, specify the form(s) of address that you OFTEN use when you are talking directly to the following people (a-d):

- A. First name (FN)
- B. First name plus last name (surname) (FLN)
- C. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)
- D. Last name (LN)
- E. Title (TT)
- F. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- G. Teknonyms (TM)
- H. Kinship term (KT)
- I. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- J. Kinship term plus last name (KTLN)
- K. The singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)
- L. The plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)
- M. Language avoidance (LA)

(a) family members:

- ☐ your male parent
- ☐ your female parent
- ☐ your spouse
- ☐ your children
- ☐ your brother
- ☐ your sister

(b) your extended family members:

- ☐ your paternal grandfather
- ☐ your paternal grandmother
- ☐ your maternal grandfather

- ☐ your maternal grandmother
- ☐ your mother's brother
- ☐ your mother's sister
- ☐ your father's brother
- ☐ your father's sister

(c) your in-laws:

- ☐ your father in-law
- ☐ your mother in-law
- ☐ your brother in-law
- ☐ your sister in-law

(d) non-family members:

- ☐ your boyfriend/girlfriend
- ☐ your male neighbour
- ☐ your female neighbour
- ☐ your male friend
- ☐ your female friend
- ☐ a male stranger
- ☐ a female stranger

2. From the list (A-M) below, specify the term of reference that you **OFTEN** use when you are talking **ABOUT** each of the following people (a-d):

- A. First name (FN)
- B. First name plus last name (surname) (FLN)
- C. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)
- D. Last name (LN)
- E. Title (TT)
- F. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- G. Teknonyms (TM)
- H. Kinship term (KT)
- I. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)

J. Kinship term plus last name (KTLN)

K. The singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)

L. The plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)

M. Language avoidance (LA)

(a) family members:

- ☐ your male parent
- ☐ your female parent
- ☐ your spouse/partner
- ☐ your children
- ☐ your brother
- ☐ your sister

(b) your extended family members:

- ☐ your paternal grandfather
- ☐ your paternal grandmother
- ☐ your maternal grandfather
- ☐ your maternal grandmother
- ☐ your mother's brother
- ☐ your mother's sister
- ☐ your father's brother
- ☐ your father's sister

(c) your in-laws:

- ☐ your father-in law
- ☐ your mother-in-law
- ☐ your brothers-in law
- ☐ your sisters-in-law

(d) non-family members:

- ☐ your male neighbour
- ☐ your female neighbour
- ☐ your male friend

☐ your female friend

3. State the circumstances or contexts in which you can address your spouse/partner during a conversation by each of the following forms of address:

- A. First name (FN)
- B. Teknonym (TM)
- N. Nickname/descriptive term (DT)
- C. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- D. The singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)

4. You are in an interaction with your spouse in the presence of your children. How do you address him/her? Choose any number from the following:

- A. First name (FN)
- B. First name plus last name (surname) (FLN)
- C. Teknonym (TM)
- D. Last name (LN)
- O. Title (TT)
- E. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- F. Kinship term (KT)
- G. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- P. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)
- H. Kinship term plus last name (KTLN)
- I. The singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)
- J. The plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)

5. Give the contexts that can lead you to address your child by any of the following address forms:

- A. Last name (LN)
- B. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- C. Teknonym (TM)
- D. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)

- E. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
 - F. Plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)
6. State the contexts in which you would ADDRESS your brothers/sisters using the following address forms:
- A. Last name (LN)
 - B. Titles plus last name (TLN)
 - C. Nickname/descriptive term (DT)
 - D. Kinship term (KT)
 - E. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
 - F. Plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)
7. State the contexts in which you would REFER to your brothers/sisters using the following address forms:
- A. Last name (LN)
 - B. Titles plus last name (TLN)
 - C. Nickname/descriptive term (DT)
 - D. Kinship term (KT)
 - E. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
 - F. Plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)
8. State the contexts in which you usually address a familiar female persons other than family members, friends and neighbours using the following:
- A. Last name (LN)
 - B. Titles plus last name (TLN)
 - C. Nickname/descriptive term (DT)
 - D. Teknonym (TM)
 - E. Kinship term (KT)
 - F. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
 - G. Plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)

9. Under what circumstances or contexts do you usually address familiar male persons other than family members, friends or neighbours using each of the following?

- A. Last name (LN)
- B. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- C. Nickname/descriptive term (DT)
- D. Teknonym (TM)
- E. Kinship term (KT)
- F. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- G. Plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)

10. Let us say you are alone in a conversation with a familiar younger person whom you address with his/her FN but who has recently acquired a better education. Choose the terms of address that you will use to address him/her from the following list:

- A. First name (FN)
- B. First name plus last name (surname) (FLN)
- C. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)
- D. Last name (LN)
- E. Title (TT)
- F. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- G. Teknonyms (TM)
- H. Kinship term (KT)
- I. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- J. Kinship term plus last name (KTLN)
- K. The singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)
- L. The plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)
- M. Language avoidance (LA)

11. Imagine you are alone in a conversation with a familiar younger person whom you address with his/her FN but who has recently acquired wealth. Choose the terms of address that you will use to address him/her from the list below:

- A. First name (FN)
- B. First name plus last name (surname) (FLN)
- Q. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)
- C. Last name (LN)
- D. Title (TT)
- E. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- F. Teknonym (TM)
- G. Kinship term (KT)
- H. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- I. Kinship term plus last name (KTLN)
- J. The singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)
- K. The plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)
- L. Language avoidance (LA)

12. From the following types of forms of address, choose the forms of address that you will use to address someone whom you consider to be not necessarily wealthy or more educated but more powerful or has a higher social/influential status than you. The following examples of people with higher status were given (municipal counsellor (ward counsellor or mayor), political activist, cabinet minister, pastor):

- A. First name (FN)
- B. First name plus last name (surname) (FLN)
- R. Nickname (NN)/descriptive term (DT)
- C. Last name (LN)
- D. Title (TT)
- E. Titles plus last name (TLN)
- F. Teknonym (TM)
- G. Kinship term (KT)
- H. Kinship term plus first name (KTFN)
- I. Kinship term plus last name (KTLN)
- J. Singular second person pronoun *wena* (SW)/the non-honorific *u* (NON-HON *u*)
- K. Plural second person pronoun *n'wina* (SN)/the honorific *mi* (HON *mi*)

13. Imagine you are a patient in a hospital due to an emergency and you realise that the medical practitioner who is about to examine you is a familiar young person in the sense of being your home boy or home girl. Which between the various familiar and deference address forms would you consider to be the most appropriate to address him/her in the presence of his/her colleagues (fellow medical practitioners and nurses).
14. What determines the choice of address forms in a face-to-face interaction between two interlocutors in Xitsonga?